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# THE NATION

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## France Without Father
**CLAUDE BOURDET**

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**IAN ROBERTSON**

***Education for Relevance***
## First Year at Federal City
**DAVID SWANSTON**

## THE ALL-AMERICAN FRAME-UP
***Fred J. Cook***

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# LETTERS

## 'Democracy and the Curriculum'

*Lewisburg, Pa.*

DEAR SIRS: As a student and a voting member of the Curriculum Committee of the College of Arts and Sciences at Bucknell University, I would like to take exception to several points in Carl Cohen's article, "Democracy and the Curriculum" [*The Nation*, Mar. 17].

First . . . the democracy he describes as appropriate for a college community is really oligarchy (rule by the select few) or at best the kind of "democracy" practiced in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, which was in effect rule by the elect. If faculty should control curriculum because they are most experienced (despite the obvious vested interest of students), then shouldn't administrators have the sole power of hiring and firing (despite the faculty's interest)? This would surely be orderly; but it might not be pleasant.

Second, perhaps democracy is not the best way to run the world of academe. Perhaps we need be less formal than the political state. Perhaps we can recognize one another and our needs. The committee on which I serve has four students and nine teachers. I think Cohen is wrong in assuming students would want the balance reversed; we now have a meaningful voice, though, and that is important—for the faculty as well as for us.

Third, I accept Professor Cohen's evaluation of the competence of many faculty members. I reject categorically that they all possess it (even if they have taught for forty years), and that faculty possess it exclusively. Finally, I suggest he look also at the substantive issues. Students have not demanded a voice in institutional management solely because we are upset with procedures. Perhaps if students and faculty worked together on the procedures, some of the substantive problems in our nation's universities might begin to be cleared up. *Robert E. Feir*

*Atlanta, Ga.*

DEAR SIRS: The question of where to focus the major criticism on a debate as diverse as the validity of the American university or the relevancy of student protests seems to have come full circle in Carl Cohen's article.

These are exactly the things that American students today are seeing as *invalid*: the quality of selection and training of instructors, the paternalistic and condescending treatment of youth, and "rational" approach to protest or criticism of the American institutions as a viable means of change. Cohen seems to make the old traditional argument once again: "let's live with what we have because it's here and if we want to change its ills let's 'reason' together." His argument is invalid in full light of today's youthful critics. That's like arguing to not have a protest march on Saturday because of the World Series, when the march is for the increase in welfare benefits. *Richard L. Stevens*
*Department of Sociology and Anthropology*
*Emory University*

*Syracuse, N.Y.*

DEAR SIRS: Carl Cohen's defense of faculty control over the curriculum of the university is reasonable and temperate, but excessively conservative. Neither does it accord with tradition or present reality.

The tradition is that a great many curricular decisions appear to have been made by an independent faculty, but in fact that independence has been historically conditioned by interests outside the ivied walls. The undergraduate liberal arts curriculum is probably the most "independent" but even here every major course of study is shaped by the requirements for admission to graduate school, whether or not a substantial fraction of graduating seniors do continue to

*(Continued on page 604)*

# EDITORIALS

## The ABM Blues

Only a few months ago anything the Pentagon asked for it was almost sure to get. Its principal opposition came from within: if Secretary of Defense McNamara thought a weapons system was not essential to the national defense, or not worth the cost, he could usually block its introduction. In the Congress, however, and around the country generally, opposition to military demands was feeble. The high command was regarded as close to infallible, despite plenty of evidence to the contrary.

Times have changed! Skepticism has superseded blind faith. The Nixon Safeguard anti-ballistic missile system, successor to the Johnson Sentinel, is an early victim of this reversal of mood. Its fate is unsettled, but the only true friends it seems to have are the President, Secretary Laird, and of course, Gerald R. Ford, the House Republican leader.

When the ABM was moved from the cities to the wide-open spaces the hope of its sponsors was that opposition would wither away. Indeed, in some sections the prospect of an influx of mammoth construction funds overrode all other considerations. Not in North Dakota, however. At Fargo, population 50,000, and regarded as a slightly overgrown country town, several hundred citizens gathered to hear Rep. George Brown of California, a member of the Science and Astronautics committee, and Dr. George Stanford, a nuclear physicist attached to the Argonne National Laboratory in Chicago, deliver scathing attacks on Safeguard. The meeting adopted a policy statement to the effect that fallout over the wheatlands was no more acceptable than fallout over the cities. There were also assertions that a series of Minuteman test firings had failed, and since Minuteman missiles are far simpler than ABMs, the latter could be more of a danger to the areas under defense than to the incoming missiles. North Dakota is said to have the highest concentration of nuclear weaponry per acre of any state; evidently some of the citizens want no more of it.

In a stinging letter to Sen. John Stennis, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, North Dakota Governor William L. Guy repudiated the notion that he should support the ABM program as good for his state's economy, saying: "There are priority needs such as education, health services and reclamation projects that have a higher social priority and would be far better for this state's economy than the ABM system." Sen. Milton Young has given a measure of support to ABM sites in North Dakota, but Sen. Quentin Burdick has voiced opposition.

Meanwhile, scientists and students at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, whose contracts with the Department of Defense have run close to $100 million a year, took part in the March 4 "research stoppage" and heard a widely quoted speech by Harvard's prize-winning biologist, George Wald. Dr. Wald lashed out at the draft, biological warfare, and Sen. Richard Russell's statement that if we have to start over again with another Adam and Eve, he



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wanted them to be Americans. "Criminal insanity," Wald called it. The MIT linguist Noam Chomsky urged the audience to "keep knocking down the technical justifications for programs like ABM," warning at the same time that if resistance ever got off the ground, the government might take action against what it would term an illegal conspiracy.

The ABM may yet overcome opposition, but Mr. Nixon is not going to find it easy to obtain the $8 billion, or whatever will be needed to put it in operation—assuming it can be made to operate. He has admitted that he made a mistake in failing to appoint Franklin A. Long to the directorship of the National Science Foundation because, not at all vehemently, Dr. Long had opposed the ABM. Mr. Nixon may yet wish that he had jettisoned the whole ABM system as his first act on taking office.

## Crackdown

Both President Nixon and Governor Reagan have upheld the principle of peaceful dissent in the universities and spoken in favor of a student voice in university affairs. By delivering themselves of these liberal sentiments, they may feel that they have cut the ground from under those students who go in for rough stuff on campus. No doubt the conservative public will agree; the applause which greeted the President's blast against student lawlessness in his speech before the Chamber of Commerce in Washington is an indication. He will also find widespread support for his contention that students should be limited to a consultant role in the affairs of the university, but one can predict with considerable assurance that this formula will not satisfy student militants, and that middle-of-the-road student bodies, while disapproving the tactics of the militants, will continue to display varying degrees of sympathy with their demands.

Among Mr. Nixon's strongest points as a lawyer and politician is forensic omission. By fluent and forceful enunciation of his own case, he can make the average audience forget that he has paid no attention to the opposition's case. What he is ignoring in the present situation is that a good deal of student disorder is the result of protracted indifference on the part of university and government officials to orderly petitions for relief. Apparently a majority of students are opposed to the Vietnamese War, but the war goes on and on. The Nixon Administration hopes to end it (so did the Johnson administration) but the end must be "honorable" from the American viewpoint, which means that a war which the United States should never have entered in the first place is to be settled on terms satisfactory to the hawks, so that Mr. Nixon can retain the desired image of a strong President.

Similarly, the presidents and deans of institutions of higher learning often stand pat on issues affecting the student body until the more rebellious students resort to force. Then the administrators raise a hue and cry against "revolutionaries" and the President of the United States comes to their aid, covering himself with simultaneous declarations of principle which leave actual power where

# IN THIS ISSUE

*May 12, 1969*


**EDITORIALS**

586

**ARTICLES**

589 France Without Father — *Claude Bourdet*

591 Labor in the Vineyard: The Boycott and the NLRA — *Ronald B. Taylor*

594 Education for Relevance: First Year at Federal City — *David Swanston*

596 Apartheid's Empire — *Ian Robertson*

598 Hydroelectric Battle Plan — *Thomas Land*

601 Meany & Reuther: Labor's Main Bout — *B. J. Widick*

602 Harry Golden

**BOOKS & THE ARTS**

605 The All-American Frame-Up — *Fred J. Cook*

606 Halfway Down the Coast (poem) — *Paul Blackburn*

608 Happiness is Mail at Your New Address (poem) — *Peter Klappert*

609 His Own Special Blend — *William H. Blanchard*

610 Over Newark (poem) — *Steven Orlen*

611 *Nation* Book Marks — *Charles Stein*

612 Theatre — *Harold Clurman*

613 Records — *David Hamilton*



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it has been right along.The effect is to make administrators like President Perkins of Cornell, who try to rule by reason, appear lacking in the "backbone" which Mr. Nixon demands.

While Mr. Nixon was denouncing student revolutionaries before the Chamber of Commerce, a small group of student editors and campus leaders was meeting with Henry A. Kissinger, the President's national security adviser, and John Ehrlichman, the Presidential counsel. This meeting had been arranged in lieu of an audience the students had requested with the President. The students argued that the war was "dishonorable" from the start and remained so. Dr. Kissinger and Mr. Ehrlichman reportedly asked for patience, but the students pointed out that patience has its limits, especially for young men who are on the verge of being drafted for combat in a war they find loathsome.

This conference nevertheless was a move in the right direction. The wrong way to handle student dissenters is exemplified by an occurrence at Voorhees College, a "predominantly" Negro school in South Carolina supported by the Episcopal Church. Twenty-five armed Negroes, including five women students, seized two buildings. The president of the college, Dr. John F. Potts, worked out a settlement with the barricaded students. In the meantime, Gov. Robert E. McNair called the seizure "a crime that would not be tolerated" and at the request of the board of trustees sent heavily armed National Guardsmen and state police to the campus. The students came out, leaving their weapons behind, under the impression that the school would not press charges. But the trustees repudiated the agreement between the students and Dr. Potts and all twenty-five were arrested. Anyone who thinks that such episodes are conducive to academic peace must have lost all contact with reality.

## Scenario

While recognizing that the basic issues often run deep, we have thought for some time that one of the immediate factors leading to the disruptions now proliferating on American campuses is the sphinxlike attitudes of those governing many of the institutions. Like other bureaucracies, college administrations like to look as formidable as they can and to say as little as possible. If you are young, and if it is spring, there is always the temptation to see how far you can twist the lion's tail before he springs.

This is not apt to be a motive at Yale, where President Kingman Brewster, Jr., has recently distributed to the entire student body a letter giving his views on dissent and disruption. As to the former, he says he will defend its expression no matter how extreme its views. More important in the present context, he affirms that when matters of Yale policy are at issue the university, faculty and administration alike, has an obligation to recognize and respond to the dissent.

As to disruption, he makes it equally clear that he will not tolerate it, and he outlines a series of steps he will take if it occurs. He would begin by inviting the disrupters to meet with him for an unrestricted discussion of unspecified duration; if they did not respond, he would warn them that continuation of the disruption would lead to suspension. If that did not work, he would pronounce the suspension and take steps to have the disrupters removed from the scene, first using such force as the university could command and then, as a very last resort, asking assistance from outside.

With candor unusual in a university president, Dr. Brewster acknowledges that this program demands from him a clarity of view and a resolution of purpose that he cannot in advance be certain of exercising. He is obviously worried by the prospect he outlines (he even fears that sketching the "scenario" may bring on the event). He views with real dismay the possibility that Yale might have to call in the police, and it is noteworthy that early in his communication he repudiates the legislation which would withdraw federal loans and grants from insurgent students—at Yale, he asserts, students will be disciplined according to their acts, not their finances.

There is nothing particularly adventurous about the social and political views of Kingman Brewster; in the past he has made clear that he could not endorse completely the views or tactics of William Sloane Coffin, Jr., but he has simply laughed when asked whether Yale might take steps to curb its fiery chaplain. What makes Brewster unusual in the present atmosphere of campus brinkmanship is that he is visible, modest and frank. It seems almost a miracle that Yale has not yet erupted, but perhaps the reason is nothing more abstruse than the homely, and now somewhat rare, virtues of its president.

## Triumph of Irrelevance

Birth control is an issue of prime importance all over the world. When it is not applied, or fails for one reason or another, abortion is the last resort. Attitudes toward abortion are influenced by economic circumstance perhaps as much as by religious or moral considerations. In Japan unconditional abortion was made legal in 1948. The United Kingdom, Sweden and some other countries have liberal abortion laws. In the United States each state is the judge of when abortion is justified and when not.

In this situation a proposal for abortion reform in a key state is important internationally as well as nationally. New York has an eighty-six-year-old law which permits abortion only to save the mother's life. For three years Albert H. Blumenthal, a dedicated Manhattan Reform Democrat, has led the forces pressing for abortion reform, to the extent that pregnancy could be terminated when there is substantial risk that the fetus, if born, would be grossly malformed or, because of serious physical or mental abnormality, would be permanently incapable of caring for itself. Other grounds would be pregnancy resulting from rape or incest, or when the mother was no more than 15 years old and unmarried.

This year's bill had the support of Governor Rockefeller, the Joint Legislative Committee on Public Health, most medical associations and most Protestant and Jewish groups. The proponents of reform were sure they had



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the necessary votes. One Assemblyman who had promised to vote for it was Republican Martin Ginsberg of Nassau, a 38-year-old lawyer who was badly crippled by polio at the age of 13 months. However, in the debate Mr. Ginsberg declared that, though he favored reform, he could not support the provision for abortion in the event of the abnormalities specified in the measure. In a highly emotional speech he cited several persons who had been born with physical defects, among them the great electrical engineer-mathematician Charles P. Steinmetz. Concluding his speech, Mr. Ginsberg said: "I don't know why God saw fit to let me live in this form and condition. Perhaps it was so I could be here . . . to speak on this specific bill." Whereupon he received a standing ovation and fourteen Assemblymen switched their votes, defeating the bill for this session.

Legislators were also influenced by a letter from a crippled boy who said he wouldn't have wanted not to be born. This appeal reminds one of Charles Lamb's essay, "Dream Children," in which he lamented that because he had not married a certain young woman, their nonexistent children would be doomed to "wait upon the tedious shores of Lethe millions of ages before we have existence and a name." The essay is moving, but it is nonsense in terms of actual life. There is no pool of pathetic children waiting to be conceived and born.

Mr. Ginsberg's argument would apply equally to some other legislator who might argue that if his mother had not been raped he would not be on hand to serve his constituency. And what about the children in underdeveloped countries who, if born, have nothing to look forward to but starvation?

Of course abortions will not cease because of the defeat of Mr. Blumenthal's bill, nor would births of malformed children (of whom Mr. Ginsberg was *not* one at birth) have stopped had the bill passed. Any mother who thinks she might be carrying another Steinmetz will be free to bring him into the world; or if she does not wish to be aborted of her possibly malformed child for reasons of conscience or religious belief she can go ahead and bear it. All Mr. Ginsberg accomplished was to help keep the abortion mills in business and to sign the death warrants of a certain number of unwilling mothers who would have survived legal abortions.

## Cry Mercy

If capital punishment is a social evil—and that the American people so view it today can be clearly seen by the fact that it has been virtually abandoned and is legally banned in a number of states—then it is evil however eminent, admirable or beloved the murderer's victim. We would oppose it for the killer of Martin Luther King; we oppose it for the killer of Robert Kennedy.

In the case of Sirhan Sirhan, the jury's action is particularly distasteful because of the man's evident mental confusion. Legal insanity is a will o' the wisp, the despair of both lawyers and psychiatrists, but no reasonable man, reflecting on Sirhan's fantastic motivation and his frenzied courtroom behavior, would advocate putting this pathetic youth to death.

Judge Walker might be tactically well advised to reduce the sentence to life imprisonment, since the verdict could be reversed by a higher court on the ground that members of the panel who expressed convictions against capital punishment were excluded from the jury. He might show diplomatic wisdom by doing so, since the issue is a cause of passion in the Arab world, where our best interests are served by a reduction of passions.

But beyond all this, the extreme sentence is out of keeping with the character of the man who died. In the words of Jesse Unruh, Democratic Leader of the California Assembly and one of Robert Kennedy's most effective political supporters, it "is not the last chapter that ought to be written in the brilliant public record of a gentle man who bore hate for no man, woman or child and sought instead to eliminate violence and suffering from American society."

# FRANCE WITHOUT FATHER

**CLAUDE BOURDET**

*Paris.*

General de Gaulle has been caught in his own trap. The blackmail did not work, the bluff was called, and history may well describe his departure from the scene not as death by accident but as political suicide, or perhaps as Russian roulette. However, let us be cautious with instant post mortems for the wily old gentleman could still have tricks in his bag; he might even stage a comeback. Nothing is politically impossible while he lives.

However, as of now the departure looks real, and the question on every tongue is, Why did he do it? Many rack their brains (the editor of *Figaro* keeps sadly shaking his head) and have given some reasons. The referendum of April 27 was not popular, but de Gaulle felt nevertheless that he had to put all his weight behind it, since its defeat meant defeat for him. You cannot establish the habit of government by blackmail and then suddenly let people decide for themselves.

Deeper than this logical explanation is the psychological need de Gaulle felt periodically for some kind of reassurance—and which he felt especially after the staggering blow of the May "revolution." Friends at that time persuaded him to drop the idea of a referendum and hold elections instead. These produced a spectacular victory; but Gaullists were elected, not de Gaulle. Politically, of course, it was the same thing, but psychologically it was something quite different. Which raises the question of



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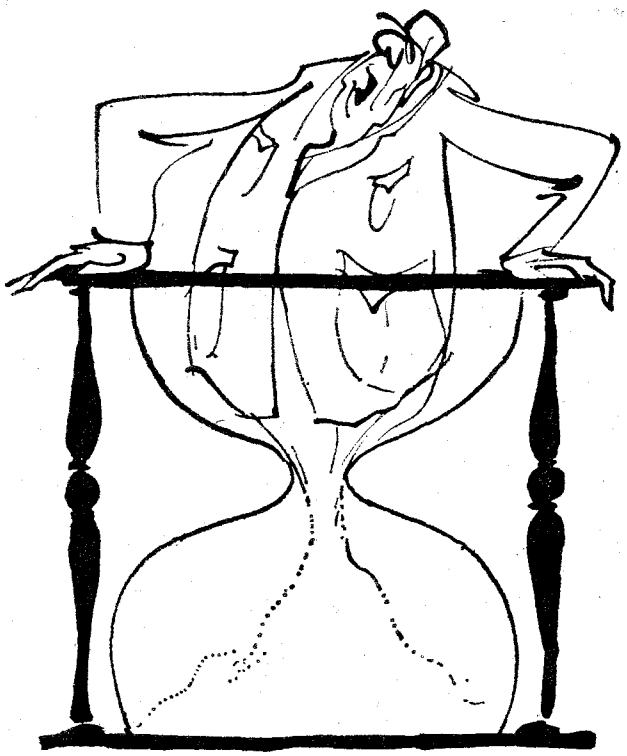
whether this apparently strong man did not hide an inner weakness that needed the comforting balm of sweet popular suffrage.

Why did the French call his bluff? I think that the substance of the referendum was generally disliked from the start but that with the increase of bullying from the Elysée it became simply a matter of voting for or against de Gaulle. It seems that the bogeys of communism and chaos have become unreal. People are also tired of the benign, imperious father figure. Too much father leads to father murder—especially since Pompidou, the slightly rebellious yet loyal heir, furnishes a safe alternative for the more timid "no" voters.

The first three days after the vote was passed very quietly. Everywhere business went on as usual (The traditional May 1 parade of the labor unions was called off by the Communist-led CGT because it feared disorders by the much more leftist student groups, and possible provocations by extreme Gaullist organizations.) The business world is not unhappy. It hopes to get rid of the the more progressive aspects of de Gaulle's policy—the independent foreign policy; workers' participation in management. It had also come to fear de Gaulle's obstinacy in financial matters: his refusal to devalue the grossly overvalued franc and the consequent savage deflation. Austerity taxes and the rarity of money choked the economy. Devaluation now seems inevitable soon after the Presidential vote, especially if re-evaluation of the German mark remains uncertain.

What happens now? The Presidential election is set for June 1, and until then the government remains unchanged under Couve de Murville, with President of the Senate Alain Poher as caretaker President. He is a middle-of-the-roader who has emerged during the last month as a potential leader of conservative anti-Gaullism. Poher, who will be in the public eye because of his pro tem position, is cannily delaying an announcement of his plans, but he will probably enter the elections. If so, he will rally many moderates who are tired of Gaullism. But as of now Pompidou is the much stronger candidate, particularly since he has received the reluctant backing of Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, who abandoned his own hopes after trying unsuccessfully for two days to rally convincing support from his Independent Republican party.

Pompidou is considered heir apparent by most Gaullists (their left wing does not so recognize him) even after his estrangement from de Gaulle following events of 1968. That came about because Pompidou's cool attitude during the crisis produced a severe irritation in de Gaulle. There are many signs that he is still unforgiving, but what can he do? There is no other heir. Observers for the most part believe Pompidou can collect most of the 47 per cent "yes" vote, but others point out that matters are not so simple. Pompidou is no de Gaulle. He is popular, but not charismatic. De Gaulle, himself, is probably sitting on the fence, a slightly sadistic grin on his face. One must also consider that a referendum, even when honest, is a special phenomenon in which the government in power is at an advantage. If you then add the effect of de Gaulle's blackmail you may come to the conclusion that the anti-



Wolf—Der Stern, Hamburg

Gaullist wave was actually more intense than the 53 per cent "noes" would indicate. Still, it is also true that a certain number of these "noes" were hoping to get Pompidou in exchange for de Gaulle. From his first declarations it appears that Pompidou would like to seem open and "democratic," thus collecting the middle vote. This is like the recent American election, where everyone was fishing in the other fellow's waters.

What about the Left? Here, alas, a very dismal prospect is to be feared. At this time there is no unity. The May "revolution" eroded a hopeful trend in that direction and the electoral defeat of June battered it down. The Guy Mollet Socialists gently sacked Mitterrand, the Unity candidate. The absorption of the Federation of the Left into a new Socialist party appears to deliver not much more in structure and spirit than did the old SFIO, which still dominates it. Although the French Communists, considering their Stalinist past, behaved well during the Czech crisis, the Russian tanks rolling through Prague also left many scars here. Finally, perhaps the most important handicap is the lack of any outstanding popular leader of the Left, since Mendès-France refuses to participate in a game that is rigged both intrinsically and by the maneuvers of the leaders on the Left. Thus the Socialists have put forward Gaston Defferre, Mayor of Marseilles and a member of the Party's right wing. This means they also will try to get the middle votes, while forcing the Communists to vote for Defferre as the lesser evil. It is probable, however, that the Communists will react by designating their own candidate, that the PSU will do the same and that all Left candidates will get less votes than Pompidou or Poher. As a result, the Left will be eliminated from the second round, if one is necessary, on June 15.



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LABOR IN THE VINEYARD

# THE BOYCOTT AND THE NLRA

**RONALD B. TAYLOR**
*Mr. Taylor is a California newsman and free-lance writer who has covered farm labor and related subjects in the San Joaquin Valley for the last decade.*

*Visalia, Calif.*

While neither side of the California fresh-grape boycott can claim anything like a victory in the 1968-69 crop year, the union's economic pressure has caused a shift in the growers' position. Grape farmers still contend that the strike and the boycott by César Chavez's United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (AFL-CIO) have not gained the support of local vineyard workers and have not halted the flow of fresh grapes to market. But through such champions as California Gov. Ronald Reagan, the farmers are saying that the *unsuccessful* Delano grape strikes and the *ineffective* boycotts are national problems requiring legislative remedies—outside the National Labor Relations Act. The American and California Farm Bureau Federations, the California Grape and Tree Fruit League and the Council of California Growers individually seek some form of protective legislation that would proscribe boycotts and outlaw strikes at critical growing times, or at harvest.

A telegram from Governor Reagan to President Nixon summed up the growers' position: "I believe that applying the principle of the National Labor Relations Act is unwise. Such factors as crop perishability and weather require an approach that will achieve a balance of union and farmer bargaining power so necessary to reach a fair decision and avoid loss of food and fiber, in the public interest." The telegram identified the basic issues as "social and labor management problems" and asked for a broad national study.

Strip away the bitter arguments—over wages or market prices or perishability of crops or church involvement in social crisis—and there is but one issue: Do farm workers have the right to organize and bargain collectively? If they have such a right, it is unprotected by law and is therefore practically beyond reach. The UFWOC rejects the idea that workers can bargain voluntarily at the sufferance of the grower, and is demanding that farm workers be given the same protection industrial unions received when the NLRA became law in 1935. To force collective bargaining, after traditional strike and picket-line activities failed to bring the growers to the table, the UFWOC switched to a nation-wide boycott. Chavez made the boycott announcement last May; it took several weeks to spread boycott pickets across the nation and to establish operating bases in friendly churches or sympathetic local unions. The UFWOC's first big break came early in the summer when New York City announced that it had stopped buying California grapes. Most of the markets in the city went along; this shut off 20 per cent of the national fresh-grape market and pushed the boycott into the spotlight.

Since then it has become a national topic, argued and debated in Presidential and Congressional campaigns, discussed in newspaper editorials, and presented on national and local television. Has the boycott been effective? Specific, demonstrable facts are hard to come by, but it is obvious that the boycott has had some significant effects.

Any attempt to measure what these effects have been must start in the market place. The total California 1968-69 grape crop—raisins, wine and fresh fruit—is estimated at 3.2 million tons, right on the five-year average. The quality is good; the flow to market has been average or a bit below. The total income to the farmers, as projected by the federal-state market news service, is expected to top the $166 million average. Fresh grapes make up $30 million to $40 million of this return and the same general market picture is true. An estimated 540,000 tons of fresh grapes were produced.

The market in fresh grapes started out strong, then sagged in late July and August. Growers deny the dip was caused by the boycott, claiming the price drop coincided with the peak harvest flow into the markets. On August 12, the market news service reported Thompson seedless grapes at $3 to $2.75 a 26-pound carton, and stated, "Some suppliers indicate that boycotts in certain terminals were having an adverse effect . . . ." The daily and weekly market reports showed a 25c-to-50c price decline through August and September and, as late as December 24, the market news service reported, "Trading was very slow, partly due to boycott action in some markets."

Boycott effects were sporadic; the New York and other markets were shut down, but only for a while; then they would open, at least partially. The result was a chaotic marketing process for the growers. They shipped more grapes on consignment—without a firm market price or destination—and, if the first market area was closed, the shipment would be diverted to another. Growers who, in years past, had established the reputation of brand names in a particular market and normally shipped F.O.B. at a known price, sometimes had to ship into unknown auction markets and take their chances. Emphasis was shifted from the Northeast to the South and Southwest, in an effort to develop "new markets." Shipping figures show that with this extra effort, the fresh fruit did get to *some* market.

American Farm Bureau President Charles Schuman, added to the picture in a widely distributed wire service story: "When grape pickers, after more than three years of harassment and intimidation by the union, resisted compulsory unionism, the boycott weapon was brought into action—recently the Chicago area felt the effect of the boycott when nearly all the chain stores caved in under pressure from labor unions, the church and left-wing social action groups."

While growers say that the boycott was little more



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than an inconvenience, the UFWOC contends it knocked $12 million to $15 million out of the market by depressing prices and diverting fresh fruit to wine or juice. The market reports do not support such a loss figure. (A $12 million loss would be equal to a price decline of 25c a box across the full market season.) Two independent sources outside the strike area, but thoroughly familiar with the grape markets, estimated that the August-September market sag *could* have resulted in losses to the growers of $5 million to $7 million. They could not—or would not—say what caused the decline.

Since the market process provides no specific boycott

indicators—in terms of overall effect—the next best yardstick is the reaction of growers and their allies. Schuman has said, "Product boycotts should be prohibited and the National Labor Relations Board should be eliminated and its functions transferred to the courts. Our [farm bureau] policy calls for prohibition of strikes in agriculture during critical periods of production and harvesting." Other farm groups concur, and some have suggested compulsory arbitration in a federal labor act unique to farming.

Chavez, in a dramatic shift in his position on the NLRA, is demanding the same pro-union provisions the industrial unions had for the first twelve years of the NLRA. In announcing the shift last month, Chavez opposed the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin amendments that prohibit secondary boycotts and authorize injunctions against recognition picketing. He also seeks a new amendment that would make it an unfair labor practice to hire nonresident workers (Mexican nationals admitted on "green card" visas) during a strike or lockout.

Speaking specifically about grower proposals, Chavez says: "There is talk at both state and federal levels of farm labor legislation. If we [growers and the union] cannot agree on wages, hours and working conditions, then how are we ever to agree on legislation? The farmer will never be able to break our union, or stop our boycott."

The boycott efforts are being stepped up; there are now 150 full-time boycott workers, scattered from New York to California. The heaviest pressure is being applied at the major chain stores, especially the two big ones, Safeway and A&P. But here again, facts are hard to come by; each side issues its own brand of "truth." A New York executive of A&P, for example, denied a New York Congressman's story that the chain's Eastern Division had agreed to honor the boycott. When telephone checks of A&P stores in Washington, D.C., and Baltimore revealed that the Baltimore unit—150 to 200 stores in the Washington-Maryland-Delaware area—was not reordering California grapes, the New York executive conceded that the *unit* (but not the entire *division*) was taking the grapes off, but denied there was any *agreement.* He said the grapes weren't selling; however, individual stores reported that they were.

The growers call the boycott an immoral and illegal weapon. Grower organizations—while arguing that farm workers should not come under the NLRA—tried to use the NLRA to prove secondary boycott charges. Chavez, commenting on the expansion of the boycott, stated: "The appropriate method for a nonviolent union such as ours is a direct appeal to the conscience of the American people. Our right to make that appeal, and their right not to buy California grapes, are things the farmers cannot take away from us. The boycott is a revelation of the moral force behind our movement."

It is too simple to choose up sides and take emotional positions. The strike, the boycott, the diminishing number of small farmers, the increase in the size and scope of industrial farming are all symptoms of a much larger crisis. Agriculture is now going through the traumatic economic complexities of the industrial revolution. For many reasons, the family farm is disappearing, and with it a part of the American frontier tradition. The farmer is without question in an economic struggle for survival. The price of tractors, of building materials, of chemicals and other supplies continues to rise, while individual farmers still haul produce into auction markets, not knowing what price they will receive for a year's labor and investment.

Chavez and the UFWOC are an economic threat to the farmer who is already in a cost-cutting fight with an increasing number of industrialized neighbors. The UFWOC has a dozen field labor contracts with vintners and food processors like DiGiorgio Fruit Corporation, Schenley Industries and the wineries of Paul Masson, Almadén and Christian Brothers. These contracts set wage minimums at



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from $1.75 to $2.40 an hour, depending upon the contract and the job classification. The corporations report that the negotiated piece-rate system for the harvest of wine grapes brings the average picker's wage up to $3.30 an hour. In addition, the employer contributes 10c an hour to a health and welfare fund. The total package is a 40 to 50 per cent increase in labor costs.

Opponents of Chavez and the UFWOC contend that the union does not represent more than a "handful" of the table-grape workers. It is true that UFWOC contracts are primarily with wine-grape growers, the major exception being DiGiorgio. In August 1966, in a precedent-setting union recognition election on DiGiorgio's 4,400-acre Sierra Vista ranch near Delano, pickers chose the UFWOC (530 votes) over the Teamsters (331 votes). Only twelve voted for no union. This election, conducted by the American Arbitration Association, and closely observed by both unions and the company, is the only specific evidence of workers' feelings about unionization.

However, this UFWOC victory turned to ashes. A decade earlier, DiGiorgio had signed federal recordable contracts, promising to sell all lands in excess of 160 acres within ten years, in exchange for irrigation water delivered, at reasonable cost, by the Bureau of Reclamation's Central Valley Project. The Sierra Vista ranch has therefore been broken up and sold. Rumors have been circulated that the sale was caused by the unionization and that the UFWOC couldn't meet its contractual obligations here, or elsewhere. DiGiorgio officials, speaking about the Sierra Vista contract and the contract for the Arvin ranches, and spokesmen for the other vintners who have contracts, denied these stories. They report good labor relations with the UFWOC.

Now, in the Delano-Earlimart area, the South Central Farmers Committee states that it isn't opposed to "unions, per se," but specifically to César Chavez and the UFWOC. The farmer organization says the *real* grape workers have always been free to bargain voluntarily with growers in a close, friendly dialogue.

Its position paper concludes: "That these meetings have been fruitful is borne out by the fact the Delano grape pickers' earnings have regularly been the highest. . . . Despite intensive recruiting, the UFWOC has failed to attract more than a handful of the 5,000 workers who have regularly picked the entire crop in the Delano area." The grower estimate of harvest earnings, combining the $1.50-to-$1.65 hourly minimums and the piece rates, comes to an average $2.50 an hour.

On the basis of this harvest figure, plus $1.65 an hour for the rest of the working year, a fully employed grape worker could barely pull himself above the $3,000 a year poverty hurdle. Assuming that he worked 200 days a year —a state farm labor placement service figure—and figuring an average forty-four-hour week, also a state figure, a vineyard worker would earn $3,500.

How many of these workers are local to the strike area? No one, not even the farmer, knows. State figures show 2,000 migrants in Kern County on August 10, 1968, and officials conservatively placed 1,000 of them in the grape harvest. The federal immigration service reports more than 2,000 illegal Mexican aliens arrested in the strike area during harvest season. How many were working on farms? How many were repeaters, or just passing through? No one knows. Nor does anyone know how many Mexican nationals were here, legally, on "green card" permanent resident visas. The UFWOC charged that "green card" workers were being brought into the strike area as strike breakers. Chavez said that as UFWOC pickets talked workers out of the fields, scab crews were trucked in by the growers.

In the absence of any rules or regulations, or any democratic means to determine if workers do, in fact, want a union, there is no way to settle these arguments. That Chavez and the union exist is obvious, but counting the membership, or trying to ascertain UFWOC strength, is futile. The guesses as to membership run from 17,000 —a figure the union will not confirm or deny—down to the 2,000 the growers say are represented by contracts.

The union "employs" from fifty to 100 people in the dozen or so offices scattered throughout Delano's West Side, paying them subsistence wages. Boycott workers are volunteers. They receive transportation to the target area, but once there are expected to seek out local financial and physical support. Some boycott workers are Delano grape pickers and many have taken their families on the road with them.

Who supports Chavez and the UFWOC? Farm Bureau President Schuman says, "unions, church and left-wing social action groups." Delano farmers point out that Chavez took "organizational training under Saul Alinsky, the master activist." These same growers quickly add that they are not trying to pin any label on Chavez. The California state Senate un-American activities subcommittee, in 1967, found the union was "in no way connected with any New Left or subversive organizations that swarmed into Delano. . . . The concern of [the UFWOC] was, and is, to obtain better wages and working conditions."

Major UFWOC administrative support comes from the AFL-CIO, from the United Auto Workers and from individual members of the AFL-CIO, on a local and national scale. Support also comes from various national and local Catholic, Protestant and Jewish organizations, from the mayors of seventeen major cities, from several dozen federal and state legislators and at least two former Cabinet level officers.

The California Roman Catholic Bishops summed up for Chavez's supporters: "We insist again, there is a moral issue involved in this area of human relations. . . . There will be no peace in the fields, until we recognize the contradiction between [the] inherent dignity [of the human person] and the actual poor living conditions existing for many of these farm worker families."

The Bishops concluded: "The National Labor Relations Act could not only provide the necessary due process of law and procedures but also would make available trained personnel to see that both the farmer and the farm worker were protected and arrived at just solutions to their problems. We strongly feel that genuine, lasting peace will never come to farm management labor relations until farm workers are included under the NLRA."



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EDUCATION FOR RELEVANCE

# FIRST YEAR AT FEDERAL CITY

**DAVID SWANSTON**
*Mr. Swanston, who formerly covered the University of California for the* San Francisco Chronicle, *now lives in Washington. His "How to Wreck a Campus"—on San Francisco State —appeared in* The Nation, *January 8, 1968.*

*Washington*

Taped to the fuchsia-colored classroom wall is a sign: READING IS HIP! CAN YOU DIG IT?

That is hardly a typical message to encourage freshmen to use the library, but Federal City College is hardly a typical school. The nation's newest land-grant college, Federal City occupies a brightly painted cluster of cast-off government buildings four blocks from the Capitol. It is, depending on whom you listen to, a hotbed of black revolution; an important key to District of Columbia self-rule; a super-imaginative new concept in urban involvement; a long-overdue opportunity for low-cost public higher education for Washington's 850,000 residents.

To some extent, Federal City College, now groping through its first academic year, is all these things. It is also an important prototype of the nearly all-black, publicly funded college of America's inner cities. Congress created it in November 1966 after three years of studies and hearings. Except for a teachers' college, the District had been for more than a century without public higher education, and Congressional bipartisan support for the college was considerable.

Sen. Robert F. Kennedy tagged the lack of a public college in the District a "national disgrace." And Texas Sen. Ralph Yarborough added, "Congress rules the District and it shouldn't be the most backward place educationally in the country." And Maine Republican Margaret Chase Smith said Washington students "merit opportunities for higher education comparable to those now available to young Americans in all our states, and in the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico."

District private schools were difficult to get into and expensive. Tuition at American, Georgetown, Catholic and George Washington Universities is more than $1,500 a year—out of the question for the great majority of the District's families. Tuition at Howard University is considerably less—$400 a year—but limited space and stiff entrance requirements have been major obstacles.

Federal City is supposed to solve both tuition and admission problems. Tuition is low—$75 a year for District residents—and all local high school graduates are eligible for admission. Frank Farner, 40-year-old Dean of Graduate Studies at the University of Oregon, was hired as Federal City's first president, and the college began preparing for its first classes.

With a budget of $4.3 million and classrooms in remodeled World War II temporary buildings that had once housed the Securities and Exchange Commission, the college planned on an initial class of 1,800 students. More than 6,000 residents applied. The administration solved this problem with a lottery, admitting 2,400 full-time students for the classes that began last September. About 95 per cent of the students are black; their average age is 21; more than 20 per cent of them are over 30. Nearly all are attending college for the first time. The majority, college officials say, are interested in programs that will lead to employment in specific jobs.

"For better or worse, the students are interested in what they call a 'regular course,'" Provost David W. Dickson explained just before classes began. "The students' taste is more conservative than the faculty's."

The faculty—approximately half black, half white—was recruited from across the country, drawn by relatively high salaries ($7,125 to $21,000-plus a year) and the chance to "get in on the ground floor of a new college program." Some, like Kenneth Lynn, former chairman of the department of American Civilization at Harvard, were well-known scholars. Others, like James Garrett, the 26-year-old one-time leader of San Francisco State's Black Student Union, had done little or no college teaching. During the months of program planning, the faculty was often seriously divided between traditional education theories and radical ideas.

The radicals argued that the students would need a distinctly black faculty and a curriculum that drew little from the academic processes and standards of white America. "Black studies will take the position that the total liberation of people necessarily means that those people separate themselves in attitudes, social structures and technology from the forces which oppress them," Garrett said.

"Concurrent, then, with the liberation of African people must be the construction of a durable, productive and self-sufficient nation. The building of a lasting and meaningful African nation must be the end product of the Black Studies Program." Moderates countered that this heavy emphasis on blackness would topple academic standards and destroy the school.

Somewhere in between stood the students. "We recognize a need for educational opportunity and for the employment and life opportunities that success in college affords," the Student Government Association explained in a position statement. "However, we insist that the education given at FCC be relevant to the needs of the students, their families, their communities and the total District population."

For several months this argument—one of many about curricula and the direction of the college—boiled in offices, faculty meetings and planning sessions. Finally, in November, Provost Dickson violated a tacit agreement that internal faculty disagreements would not be publicized and leveled a stinging attack at the radicals, and the debate broke into the open.

"Racial tension, racial suspicion, and racial polarization have almost blasted our lovely spring buds," Dickson,



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who is responsible for academic affairs, told a meeting of the National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges. The 48-year-old educator described a "well-disciplined and intense cadre of black separatists" who "neglect academic principles for revolutionary ends," and charged that white radicals "are mainly intent on using students as cannon fodder for their own wars on the Establishment."

The next day President Farner said that Dickson's description of the college "overstates the conflict," adding, "I think most of the faculty would agree" that the disagreement wasn't as bad as Dickson had made out. A college-wide advisory board did agree. The Interim College Commission reported that the fuss was "healthy ferment" and should not be considered a "sign of chaos and racial factionalism."

The tempest steamed for a few weeks, cooled and then heated up again when Lynn announced plans to leave Federal City. "The militants have won," he grumbled. "I just don't see that people with academic interests have much of a chance here."

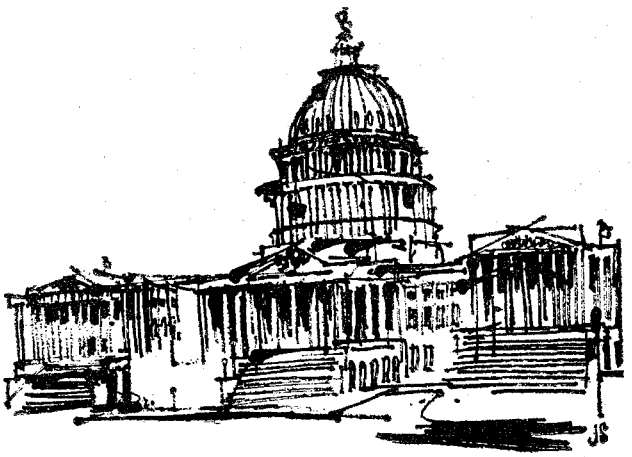
Lynn's resignation and the public airing of the debate have had their effect on the college. For one thing, recruiting the new faculty of 180 has been made a little more difficult by the hassle. For another, any public flap makes Federal City administrators look anxiously toward Capitol Hill for signs of Congressional displeasure.

So far, Congress has ignored the trouble, and, Farner says, recruiting is "going along all right." Indeed, the college as a whole seems to be getting on with its business—encouraging the belief that the rhetoric of the debate and the disagreement in general were blown out of proportion. In addition, one college official observed, many faculty members have developed a real respect for the college and are willing to compromise to protect the school and insure that program proposals will be generally acceptable.

For example, a reasoned, detailed black studies program has been developed and its approval by the college's nine-member Board of Higher Education is expected. (As of now, Federal City teaches a range of lower-division classes and does not yet offer departmental majors.) The proposal, which calls for four years of black-oriented study, is innovative and radical in many ways, but contains none of the separatist rhetoric heard in the fall. According to Garrett, its director, it "focuses upon the realities and prospects of those of African origin where they exist on the continent of Africa, in the West Indies and in the Americas. In essence, the program is at once a cultural and educational vehicle for creative awareness, confidence and determination of black people."

According to the proposal, the first two years of the program will "focus primarily on channeling the student to a spirit of dedication and community work, and development of inter-operative skills"; the last two years will focus on one of three "curriculum cores"—technical, political or cultural. Included in the fourth year will be "extensive travel."

Curiously enough, at a time when students are demanding more and more say in what and how and under whom



they study, the black studies proposal explains that "the Program will take total responsibility for the academic pursuits of students enrolled." A few students will allow their studies to be completely prescribed, others will ask for—and probably get—a larger number of choices for themselves, and the largest group, for a number of reasons, will major in something else and take black studies classes as electives.

Farner has from the start supported the concept of a significant black studies program: "One of the ways to address the problems of the inner city is to do it through a relevant black studies program." He notes with more than a touch of pride, "we have the largest black studies department in the country"; but adds, "not everyone has to be interested in black studies."

About 20 per cent of Federal City's students are enrolled in at least one of the black studies classes, which comprise about 20 per cent of the school's courses.

However, black studies are only one aspect of Federal City's attempt to be relevant to the community it was created to serve. Another—and in many ways more revolutionary—is its growing direct involvement in attempts to find solutions for Washington's problems. For example, the college conducts classes in proposal evaluation and community organization for the citizens board of a Washington Model Cities program. It created a program to train "para-professional nutritionists" to advise neighborhood women about cooking, shopping and homemaking, when a survey revealed the desperate need for better meals in ghetto homes. It conducts classes at the District's Lorton Reformatory so that inmates will be eligible for college when released. It is designing classes to prepare unemployed men and women for job openings that eight college investigators discovered in an employment survey of Washington. It conducts a year-long night class for suburbanites entitled "The Dilemma of White Americans," that will teach the thirty-five whites who take part to "deal with racism on an intellectual level."

The community involvement programs, the scope of the black studies, the overall direction of the college involve many new concepts and will probably continue to stir debate in the college community. So far, only the faculty and a few members of the administration have shown much propensity for serious wrangling. As important—and potentially more dangerous—are the two interested



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parties that thus far have stayed pretty well out of the controversies—the students and Congress.

Federal City's student population has shown itself to be interested primarily in studies and not at all interested in left-of-Center politics that are not connected with race. For example, when college officials agreed that the National Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam could use the campus buildings for a conference last January 18 and 19, the student government said no, and permission was withdrawn.

"Suppose the peaceful meeting here was to be followed by violence on the streets afterward?" student president Cornelius Williams explained. "Then nation-wide attention would include the report that it all started here. And we don't want that.

"We know what the Peace and Freedom Party and the Students for a Democratic Society are after, and their goals are not the same as ours."

When black people are directly involved, Federal City students are a little more demonstrative. The school closed to observe Malcolm X's birthday and John Carols, the runner expelled from the Olympics at Mexico City, was given a hero's welcome by several thousand students at a campus rally.

The college administration has taken care to involve students in decision making and to avoid causing confrontations—such as the strike that kept neighboring Howard in turmoil most of the winter. The students have responded with nine months of campus peace. However, a militant Black People's Liberation Movement has formed on campus and has vowed to work for "black control of the school." Exactly what the movement has in mind and what tactics it will use are not known, but there is some worry among college administrators that it will attempt disruption. (However, several of the officials say privately that the student population at Federal City won't tolerate disruption.)

Student demonstrations are a double problem for Federal City, since the school's funds come from Congress and Congress has indicated it is in no mood to fool around with young radicals. And even if the campus remains calm, Federal City could have tough sledding getting further funds out of the legislators.

As of today, though, Federal City's future seems relatively bright, if not completely assured. The District's Advisory Council on Higher Education predicts that the college will have 20,000 students by 1975. Plans for a new permanent campus are under way. Farner has weathered the first year and seems like a good bet to stay on for a while longer. Eventually, the District will get self-government. The people will then have some control of their institutions, including the college, and one large worry will be eliminated.

If it does survive, Federal City College may well become a significant educational institution and an important factor in solving the problems of the nation's capital and sixteenth largest city. "The first graduating class from the college will be the best prepared to deal with [Washington's] problems of any graduating class in the country," student president Williams predicts. "Federal City College graduates will run this city and play a large part in running this country." If Federal City is given half a chance, Williams is probably right.

# APARTHEID'S EMPIRE

**IAN ROBERTSON**

*Mr. Robertson, a former president of the National Union of South African Students, was removed from the post and placed on a restricted status by the Prime Minister. At present he is at Harvard, studying for a doctorate. It was Mr. Robertson who first invited Sen. Robert Kennedy to visit Johannesburg.*

"Draw a line from northern Mozambique on the east coast of Africa to northern Angola on the west," suggested the Johannesburg *Star* recently; "this is South Africa's co-prosperity sphere."

The newspaper was not engaged in wishful thinking. Along a jagged line marking the southern borders of the Congo, Zambia and Tanzania, the African continent is dividing into two hostile and armed camps, with all states south of the line being drawn inexorably into the new empire of the Republic of South Africa. Already Prime Minister Balthazzar Vorster speaks in the most proprietary terms on behalf of the whole subcontinent, and his behavior is not as presumptuous as it seems. Since 1966 South Africa has been quietly but steadily extending its diplomatic and economic influence through the region, irrespective of the political or racial complexion of the countries concerned, and the Republic now heads a strange fraternity of nine countries—South West Africa, Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique, Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland, Malawi and Malagasy. Only one ingredient of Mr. Vorster's grand design is missing—Zambia, whose recalcitrant determination to serve as a spearhead for wresting the south from the whites could plunge the whole region into racial warfare.

Pretoria has successfully switched from an attitude of contemptuous disregard for the new African states to one of ardent courtship, and the reasons for the change are not hard to find. The first is economic: South Africa is the industrial giant of the continent, producing 40 per cent of its manufacturing output and much more than half of its minerals and power. Although the per capita income of Africans in the Republic is estimated at just above $100 per annum, its whites now enjoy a standard of living comparable to that of white North Americans, and a continuing economic boom (the annual growth rate has averaged above 6 per cent for a decade) has made manufac-



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turing the principal export activity and South Africa a capital-exporting country. South Africans are looking for fresh markets and investment opportunities, and the rich profits to be reaped from an economic penetration and domination of the region to the north are too good to be missed.

The second motive is the need to secure South Africa's northern borders from the danger of guerrilla invasion by creating an intricate system of buffer states. The prospect of infiltration from the north alarms Pretoria; the military budget has rocketed in six years from $62 million to $350 million, and a universal draft of young white males will soon be extended to selected females. Only by neutralizing at least the three independent black states which have borders contiguous with South Africa and by coordinating defense policy with other white-ruled states of the region can South Africa hope to protect its territory from large-scale infiltration and the insurrection which almost certainly would follow.

South Africa employs a varied offensive. It offers massive loans and grants, provides technical assistance, donates food supplies in time of famine. All the countries of the region are being linked in a common electricity supply grid, a team of 100 medical specialists stands ready to fly to any country which needs them, and discreet military aid is available. Strenuous efforts are being made to exchange diplomats with black African states, although this policy has been somewhat checked by the requirements of apartheid at home. (The Prime Minister of Lesotho, visiting South Africa, had his car ordered from its parking place by a policeman so that a white man could park there; the wife of a Zambian cabinet minister was mistaken for a local African, interrogated in her underclothes, flung into a truck, taken to a labor office to produce her work permit, and finally grilled by the security police before her identity was accepted; and a temporary black diplomat from Malawi, Joe Katchingwe, was isolated from the local African community and placed in a home in a white residential area—after a high wall had been constructed around the house and a separate private driveway built so as to prevent any communication, verbal or visual, with his apprehensive white neighbors. The Katchingwe experiment has not been repeated and Malawi today maintains an all-white mission in South Africa.)

But despite these difficulties, South Africa has already captured 76 per cent of the region's trade; even Zambia, desperately trying to reduce its dependence on the white South, imports more than $28 million in goods from South Africa each year. And the Republic's elaborate *cordon sanitaire* has now been completed.

The territory embraced most closely by the Republic is of course South West Africa, which since the World Court judgment has been treated even more than before as an integral part of South Africa. "Separate Development" is now being applied in earnest to the indigenous population, a new harbor is being built, communication links with South Africa and Angola are being extended, and South African industry is financing a series of major investment projects, particularly in mining.

Further north, the Portuguese are intent on entrenching their position in Angola, particularly now that a major coffee industry has developed and extensive reserves of iron and oil have been discovered. By the end of next year the oil is expected to exceed Portugal's total domestic demands; ultimately it should supply the whole of southern Africa, which until now has had no local reserves. Once that happens, effective sanctions will become almost impossible. A joint hydroelectric project on the Kunene River will link the economies of Angola and South West Africa. But South Africa's commitments go much further. Substantial parts of Angola are under the control of rebel forces, and it is taking all the efforts of 60,000 Portuguese troops to confine them to rural areas. South Africa has already supplied helicopters (they are used to napalm suspected guerrilla hide-outs), and the Portuguese are increasingly looking to South Africa for further aid, effectively pointing out to Pretoria the implications for South West African security of a total Angolan collapse.

Across the continent, in Mozambique, a similar military situation persists, with 45,000 troops attempting to confine insurgents to the northern parts of the territory. But South African involvement here is potentially far greater. By an agreement signed last October, Portugal and South Africa are to pool $550 million to build the largest hydroelectric dam in Africa. In the remote Cabora Bassa region, an artificial lake 150 miles long will force the Zambezi River through giant turbines, and most of this power will be conveyed 800 miles south to the Witwatersrand industrial complex of the Transvaal to meet the Republic's growing demands; by the early seventies the country will consume twice its present power output. Further Cabora power will be available to Rhodesia and, if it wants it, Zambia. The remainder will be employed around Cabora Bassa in an ambitious Portuguese plan to transform the region, which is rich in untapped mineral resources, into an industrial heartland populated by a million Portuguese immigrants.

This is one of the areas in which the guerrillas, operating from behind the Zambian border, are at their strongest, and they have made it clear that they give top priority to preventing the construction and operation of the dam. The implications for South African involvement, if there is the slightest possibility that the Republic's power supply is endangered, are obvious.

The last of the white-ruled territories is Rhodesia, which is dependent on South Africa for its very existence. Though Pretoria claims that it has only police units "assisting" Rhodesian forces operating against guerrillas near the northern border, several hundred regular soldiers are in fact helping the Rhodesians, and more will be supplied if needed. Under no circumstances can South Africa allow Rhodesia to fall. The beleaguered Rhodesian economy is entirely dependent on South African aid, trade and good will. In effect, Rhodesia is rapidly being reduced to the status of a fifth province of South Africa—a process which will be increasingly reflected in the development of Rhodesian constitutional and racial policies. With a white population no larger than that of a small Midwestern town, and a political leadership substantially less sophisticated



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# Hydroelectric Battle Plan

**THOMAS LAND**
*Mr. Land is a Canadian political journalist whose articles appear in North America, Africa and Asia as well as in Britain.*

*Lusaka, Zambia*

A former Evangelical pastor brought to power by an assassin's bomb has suddenly found himself in charge of a crucial military operation against the combined strength of Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia, backed by Western capital. He is Uria Simàngo, the Acting President of the rebel organization Frente de Libertaçao de Moçambique (FRELIMO) which controls the northern regions of the Portuguese colony. With its founding president, Dr. Eduardo Mondlane, recently murdered, and its remaining leadership weakened by treason, FRELIMO must face today the gravest challenge in its five-year history.

That is the construction of the Cabora Bassa hydroelectric complex. In addition to providing tremendous reserves of electricity, the dam would create a lake for the irrigation of about 6 million acres of land and contribute to the exploitation of the immense mineral riches in the region. Part of the project is the creation of a controlled waterway along the violent Zambezi River to the Indian Ocean. Beyond these goals, a heavy concentration of alien population in the area can be reasonably expected to cause a serious setback for FRELIMO, which is in partial control of the Tete province. And a setback for FRELIMO may well influence events in neighboring Rhodesia which is also besieged by nationalist guerrillas.

That, at any rate, appears to be the master plan behind the Cabora Bassa project which was launched late last year and has attracted investment capital from twelve nations in Europe and North America. The project is underwritten by South Africa and partially guaranteed by Rhodesia, both of them future consumers of Mozambique electricity.

Another intending customer is Malawi. The political architects of the project have apparently tried to interest Zambia in Cabora Bassa electricity as well, but with little success. Nevertheless, they hope that landlocked Zambia will make use of the projected waterway in its essential copper exports, "considerably increasing the pressure" as the Johannesburg *Star* has put it, "which Portugal can bring to bear on President Kaunda. . . ."

Dr. Antonio de Oliviera Salazar fulfilled a long-term ambition in selling the Zambezi development idea to South Africa and the Western investors before relinquishing the premiership of Portugal late last year, but the probable determining factor in South Africa's decision to guarantee the project was FRELIMO's success and the attack on many fronts by African guerrillas.

FRELIMO is in firm control of two Mozambique provinces, Niassa and Cabo Delgado. Last year the Africans launched their military operations in the key Tete province with the obvious intention of joining forces with the Rhodesian guerrillas across the border. Against Portugal's sophisticated weapons supplied by Lisbon's NATO allies, the Mozambique Africans use arms from Russia and China. But their medical supplies come largely from Canada, the United States, Britain and Northern Europe; and their foreign policy (as far as it exists) has hitherto been guarded from unduly favoring either East or West by Dr. Mondlane, a Mozambique-born former American university lecturer. Mondlane was murdered in the Tanzanian capital of Dar-es-Salaam. The political motivation has still not been established, but political assassinations are very much part of the Portuguese tradition.

Mr. Simàngo, the former vice president of FRELIMO, has now taken over a highly trained guerrilla army of about 8,000 men, whose methods of warfare are similar in some ways to those of the Vietcong. The African-held territory is administered by what is described as a civilian authority which leans heavily on the councils of village elders.

The Portuguese, who prefer to fight in heavily mechanized regular units, have been unable to counter effectively the Africans' surprise raids, where the success of maneuvers is often dependent on the reliability of local intelligence.

Mondlane's death coincided with the defection of "Mzee" Lazaro Kavedema, a FRELIMO leader of the traditionalist school, to the Portuguese. Many have since predicted that the two events, plus the Cabora Bassa development, herald the end of African armed resistance in Mozambique for many years to come. But one must be careful here to distinguish between political eventualities and the wishful thinking of the Portuguese.

Dr. Mondlane's final letters provide sufficient documentary evidence to support FRELIMO's contention today that Lazaro's defection had been anticipated by the inner circle of the organization. Apparently he had sought to establish a separatist movement inside FRELIMO. His departure, which may well be followed by others, thus seems a victory for unified action against the Portuguese.

Nevertheless, the odds are clearly against the Mozambique Africans—but the history of their war is one of fighting against heavy odds. The ensuing trial of strength may well influence the outcome of the spreading undeclared war across the south of the continent.



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—it is extremely difficult for anyone who has not listened to the Rhodesian leaders to appreciate the severity of their intellectual limitations—Rhodesia is likely to be led by South Africa into declaring itself a republic and embracing the policy of "Separate Development" (i.e., the creation of one or more supposedly independent black "homelands" as justification for the retention of white control over the rest of the country).

The large island of Malagasy is fast becoming the latest recruit to the empire. Overtures have been in progress for only a matter of months—for example, some diplomats from the island were invited to South Africa and given VIP treatment, even to the extent of being permitted to sit in the white stands at a sports event, surrounded by a protective cordon of policemen—but Malagasy radio has already hailed the "new situation" and there is every indication that the impoverished country will take advantage of it.

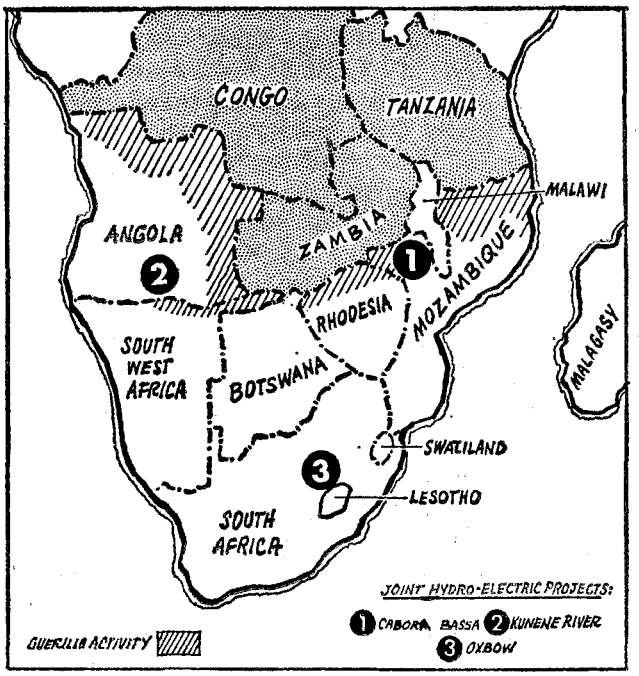
Malawi is the satellite of which South Africa feels proudest of all. Its leader, Dr. Banda, is the most atypical black politician on the continent; he is highly conservative in all matters and does not hesitate to support South Africa at the UN. He has even called for an end to the international arms embargo on the Republic. He has signed a far-reaching trade agreement with South Africa and his is the only black state to brave the outrage of the rest of Africa and enter into formal diplomatic relations with Pretoria. A somewhat egomaniac and would-be Napoleonic character, he has started making territorial demands on his neighbors, Zambia and Tanzania, presumably on the assumption that he can rely on South African aid in the event of a skirmish. South Africa is currently financing the building of a new capital for Malawi after Britain refused to do so on the ground that it was "a waste of money."

Within South African territory lie the three former British protectorates of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. Lesotho is a pitifully poor country; it was saved from famine in 1966 only by the gift of 250,000 bags of maize from the Republic. Only 5 per cent of its male labor force can find employment in the territory; the rest must seek work in South Africa. The country's total annual budget is about $15 million, more than half of it in the form of a grant from Britain. Lesotho is entirely dependent on South Africa for all its communications and trade, and a further hydroelectric plant at Oxbow will integrate the power supplies of the countries. The conservative ruling National Party was heavily financed from South African sources during the last election campaign, and the South African security police come and go freely throughout the territory.

Botswana is in a hardly more enviable position. Surrounded by South Africa, Rhodesia and South West Africa, it is an arid, sparsely populated land, with most of its inhabitants concentrated near the South African border. The Republic provides the main market for its agricultural produce. The Prime Minister, Sir Seretse Khama (who was recently treated in a white South African hospital when seriously ill), is adamant that his country should not be used as a base for subversive action against South Africa and has warned his countrymen that he "will not tolerate" opposition to his good-neighbor policies. As Botswana provides the logical base for incursions into South Africa by guerrillas from Zambia, this attitude is an important victory for Pretoria.

Swaziland is economically the most developed of the three former protectorates—it alone possesses a set of traffic lights. A traditionalist constitutional monarchy with the highest illiteracy rate in the world, it is also surrounded by and dependent on the good will of South Africa and colonial Portugal. The Prime Minister, Prince Dhlamini, said last year that his country would "seek the closest possible links with South Africa." Again, the policy is paying off in material terms; South Africa is investing heavily. Like Lesotho and Botswana, Swaziland forms part of a monetary and customs union with the Republic; like them, Swaziland has merely exchanged British protection for South African suzerainty.

The proved impotence of these three enclaves is likely to provide the impetus for further additions to the




empire, in the form of at least some of the eight independent "Bantustans" envisaged by the policy of "Separate Development." It is clear that until recently there was no genuine intention to allow any of these eight African reserves to become viable separate states—the only one to be given any kind of "self-governing" status, the Transkei, is ruled as an integral part of South Africa save that it is under a permanent state of emergency; and no advances have been made toward the political or economic development of the other seven. Indeed, it is illegal to use "white" capital to develop them, and the local inhabitants hardly have the resources to do it themselves. Some of the proposed "Bantustans" are not even to be geographically consolidated—the Zulustan, for example, will consist of dozens of separate plots of land over a wide area, with rich white farming land left intact in between. The servitude to South Africa's interests of the three former pro-



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tectorates has convinced many South Africans that fuller independence can safely be gradually granted to the Bantustans, with considerable returns in terms of international propaganda. It is now probable that the Transkei will be granted full independence some time in the next decade, and if that experiment is successful, further states will follow until a veritable commonwealth of micro-states is created in and around South Africa.

Only Zambia threatens Mr. Vorster's design. It is from camps there that infiltrators are passing into Angola, South West Africa, Mozambique and Rhodesia, and Dr. Hilgard Muller, the South African Foreign Minister, anticipates that "tens of thousands" will soon be slipping onto his own soil. President Kaunda of Zambia resolutely refuses, whatever the hardships, to succumb to the enticements offered by his southern neighbors. He is attempting to make his economy less vulnerable, particularly by building a singularly uneconomic railway through Tanzania to the port of Dar-es-Salaam in order to reduce his dependence on the Rhodesian and Portuguese transport systems. His country is paying a heavy price, and not only economically. For several months, Zambia has been suffering repeated acts of sabotage affecting bridges, communications and power lines. Moreover, Zambia claims that Portugal bombed Zambian villages near the Angolan border in April and May last year and again early this year; on the first two occasions the Portuguese issued perfunctory denials, but they have officially confirmed the latest report. There have been several eye-to-eye confrontations of troops across the Angolan and Rhodesian borders during the past year.

President Kaunda has already spoken of a "developing Vietnam in southern Africa—a full-scale racial warfare"; and the danger is real. The possibility that South Africa will strike by air at guerrilla training camps in Zambia is being openly canvassed by South African press and radio, and Mr. Vorster has warned Zambia with typical bluntness that "we will hit you back so hard you will never forget it." Defense Minister Piet Botha is fond of drawing analogies between the situation in the region and the Six Day War in the Middle East. He has commented that "provocation can lead to hard retaliation," and speaks ominously of "secret weapons" to be installed near the northern border—probably a missile system which is almost completed.

Illingworth, Punch

But whatever happens in Zambia, South Africa's new approach seems likely to be successful. Admittedly, much could go wrong—the Bantustans could careen out of control; Portugal, especially after Salazar, may decide that Angola is not worth the cost; and in Malawi, Dr. Banda's obsessive personality cult, coupled with the hatred he inspires in his northern neighbors, must make him an excellent candidate for one of Africa's next coups. Yet on the whole, the chances for success are heavily weighted in South Africa's favor, particularly if President Kaunda can be forced to alter his attitude or be ousted from office. The military coups which have occurred in so many African countries, by removing militant ideologists from power and replacing them with more introspective conservatives, have greatly enhanced South Africa's prospects, and many voices all over the continent (such as that of the respected Robert Gardiner of Ghana) urge cooperation and conciliation with South Africa.

For too long the moral conscience of liberals and radicals throughout the world has been directed almost exclusively against the war in Vietnam. The likelihood is that when that war is finally over, the policies of apartheid, which are being pursued with increasing inhumanity within South Africa's borders, will emerge as one of the foremost moral issues of our time. The danger and the tragedy is that when that time comes, South Africa's tentacles may have the whole of southern Africa in their embrace, and an impregnable Pretoria government, buttressed by a series of client states, presiding over a thriving economy and irremovable from the seat of power, may be able to pursue unhindered its domestic evils.

And what of the attitude of the United States to the developing situation in the region—a situation which goes almost unreported in American media? Already U.S. businessmen have invested more than $1 billion in South Africa, and their investment there is increasing faster than in any other country in the world (the average return on capital is better than 15 per cent). The company exploiting the Angolan oil reserves is a subsidiary of Gulf Oil; the largest chain of vacation hotels will shortly be none other than Holiday Inns; Chase Manhattan Bank expands steadily. South Africa produces more than 60 per cent of the gold of the non-Communist world. It is a fanatically anti-Communist country, it is militarily powerful, and it guards the sea route to the west, so vital in times when the Suez canal is closed. Given these conditions, what will be the attitude of the United States if it appears that South Africa is in danger from attack by guerrillas trained in Moscow, Peking, Cuba and Tanzania? The answer to that question could be the most important American foreign policy decision of the next decade.



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# Meany & Reuther: Labor's Main Bout

**B. J. WIDICK**
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There is an almost irresistible temptation in sophisticated union circles to make little of, or indeed ignore, the latest public debate between Walter Reuther, president of the United Autoworkers union, and George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO. "Walter is right about George, and George is right about Walter," they say, and that is accurate enough, for there is some truth in the charges each man levels against the other.

But the increasing breakup of the once monolithic union hierarchy is too serious for wisecracks at labor cocktail parties. The mere fact that the AFL-CIO publishes a 40,000-word official document "refuting" Walter Reuther suggests that the days when Meany felt he could dismiss Reuther with a wave of his arm are over. Admittedly, the Alliance of Labor Action between the UAW and the Teamsters has yet to set the world on fire, but it has placed the two largest and most powerful American unions in opposition to Meany's stewardship of the movement and that's no small matter. The Teamsters continue their phenomenal growth—more than 2 million members—and the UAW has 1.5 million. Only recently, the AFL-CIO voted to disaffiliate from the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions—an impetuous action on Meany's part when he failed to obtain a 100 per cent disapproval of Reuther's request for independent affiliation to the ICFTU. Not even the obvious threat of lost American dollars could give Meany the endorsement he desired.

In a sense, the Meany leadership is painting itself into a corner, both at home and abroad. Reuther's limitations are suggested by his reluctance to assist the ICFTU with healthy sums of money and with no strings attached. It is not a flawless organization, but its reduction to impotence could scarcely be called a triumph for the union movement.

The 40,000-word document rubs Reuther's nose into the many times he was silent or operated only behind the scenes to influence or change AFL-CIO policy. A classic example is recalled by Meany's reference to the December 1965 AFL-CIO convention in San Francisco. A Meany press release on the document summarizes that period as follows: "The Reuther attacks began in early 1966 'without prior notice, discussions within the AFL-CIO, or previous indications of any basic disagreement' the report noted.

"They followed by a few months the December 1965 AFL-CIO convention in San Francisco at which there was 'no forecast of the subsequent attacks,' nor any sign of interest on the part of the UAW in the various issues and proposals for 'reform and revitalization' which were later to be fashioned into a platform for its campaign against the AFL and its leadership.

"At the convention Reuther made three public comments —supporting the economic policy and Vietnam resolutions

*Walter P. Reuther*

and endorsing full AFL-CIO support for the Kingsport Press strike."

It is absolutely true that, publicly, Reuther went along —as I reported in *The Nation* on December 27, 1965; his efforts behind the scenes had failed on all counts. The hawk position of Meany won completely, the peace movement pickets were denounced as "kooks" and Jay Lovestone walked around the convention like the cat that had swallowed the mouse. Reuther had reached a breaking point, his private discussions turned out to be a waste of time, and he began to think in terms of public debate on policy and more independent action. My own impression, then and at the 1967 AFL-CIO convention in Florida, was that Meany couldn't have cared less for anything Reuther said or did. His opponent was boxed in, and finished. Meany knows how to provoke and Reuther provokes easily. An eventual split was inevitable; the façade of AFL-CIO unity was illusory in that context.

Prior to that development, the acid feelings between Meany and Reuther were revealed most clearly, perhaps, by their attitude toward the 1963 March on Washington. Reuther wanted to mobilize the entire AFL-CIO to participate—Meany flatly refused to budge. The scorn which Meany once poured on A. Philip Randolph was now directed at Reuther.

In a word, on major social issues that cry for attention in this country, Reuther has always shown a sensitivity toward change and development that is simply beyond the comprehension of the Meany forces. They are satisfied



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with their record—as they have repeated time and again.

Reuther has been troubled by CIA involvement in union matters; Meany declares it nonexistent. Reuther keeps a finger in the peace movement and even tries to understand the youth rebellion. He was deeply upset by the behavior of Daley's police in Chicago; Meany praised it. Repeatedly, Reuther has been involved in the civil rights movement; for Meany this is a task of subordinates. Reuther is unhappy with the image of a rich labor bureaucracy sunning in Florida; the AFL-CIO hierarchs deem such squeamishness downright disloyal. Reuther knows the tragic effect that building trades policy has had on labor's relations with the Negro community. The Meany forces see themselves in the vanguard, breaking down racial barriers.

On each of these and many other questions, the public will soon learn more of what has been going on behind the scenes. It is quite unlikely that anyone will emerge as a hero from the stories both sides feed to an eager press. Nevertheless, the debate and the competition are bound to have one wholly desirable result: A debate on policy in a freer framework than the inner confines of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy.

Organizational failures or inadequacies? How much or how little support did César Chavez really get and under what conditions? Why are the textile mills largely unorganized? How was it that Meany's close friend Lyndon B. Johnson never moved against the big textile manufacturers, as labor is now demanding that President Nixon do? What about FEPC enforcement in all defense contracts? The record is not likely to end up showing Meany to be the great labor leader his associates assure him history will portray. Soon the UAW and the Teamsters will hold a national conference on what they have to offer the labor movement. Debating the past won't be half as effective as acting in the future, and on that the ultimate judgment between Meany and Reuther will be made.

# HARRY GOLDEN

If a man held a gun at my head and said, "Become a Christian or I shoot," I would not play the martyr as so many of my ancestors did. I would join up with one of the Protestant churches. There would be very little there to offend me. The minister conducts the service just as the rabbi does. He reviews the latest book, talks about the current movies, and once a month delivers a sermon on juvenile delinquency.

When the congregation have built the church, they turn it over to the big givers because "they know how to spend the money." When it comes to building the Sunday school auditorium, the big givers are still in there because "they know how to spend the money." In short, the laymen have taken over, and the clergymen reflect their culture, often their prejudices. "Stick to religion": the word goes down from the layman to the minister and the rabbi. "Stick to religion and stay away from controversial matters, politics and sociology."

We'll never know how many Protestant clergymen were fired in the last fifteen years because they had a word to say about the battle on the race issue. In general, the Protestant churches and the Jewish temples of the South backed away, and still back away, from the great moral issue of the 20th century.

In April 1955 Mr. Joseph Sidney Rigell in the pulpit of St. Paul's Presbyterian Church, Chester, S.C., urged his congregation to relax their rigid condemnation of the Supreme Court. Mr. Rigell asked his membership to stand to show him their support. Only one member rose, Mrs. Rigell. The minister sighed, told his congregation he could not let his wife stand alone. He left the pulpit, stood beside his wife for a moment and walked out.

The refusal of the main Presbyterian church of the South to support the March on Washington elicited a critical letter from Dr. John Randolph Taylor who wrote: "We as a church will have to pay a high price for withdrawal. If we do not identify ourselves with men's needs how shall we ever be able to establish the communication with men effectively enough to present the Gospel? Demonstrations will never of themselves solve the racial issue; only the Gospel of Jesus Christ can do that. We bear witness to men and must do so by being with them, not by withdrawing from them."

I quote this letter to show that astute members of the Southern ministry were aware of the price the Protestant Church would pay for standing aloof. Had the Catholic clergy disassociated itself from the struggle of the Irish immigrant and the attempts of workingmen to unionize, then the Catholic Church in America would have been irreparably damaged in the 1890s. There are many battles in which the neutral gets slaughtered.

The rise of a Southern middle class in the last forty years not only secularizes many of the urban churches and dampens their influence but also robs the minister of his classical function. It may be said that the South is no longer the "Bible Belt." Southerners spend a lot of time at church, they are punctual in their attendance, but for the last twenty years most Protestant services in the region would have made an observer recall George Bernard Shaw's comment that Christianity would be a marvelous philosophy if only the folks would try it.

This "secularization" is reflected even in the work of the Rev. Dr. Billy Graham. Forty years ago any hymn-singing evangelist who staged a revival meeting would ask the converts for a sacrifice to prove good faith. A man



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was redeemed because he gave up smoking or drinking or consorting with painted women. The sawdust trail was a road of personal abnegation. Today Billy Graham simply asks the sinners to believe and the Berlin Wall will come down; television will abjure violence; the Chinese Communists will become missionaries, and anxiety will be only another name for a headache. Today, redemption is a tranquilizing experience, no longer a conflict between body and spirit.

Baptists, Methodists, even Presbyterians who rose in the world used often to join the Episcopal Church, which throughout the South has always been the aristocrat's church. But material wealth is so much more easily come by since 1940 that many of the Methodists, Baptists and Presbyterians have turned their own church into an Episcopal Church—insisting on a much more formal religious service, on more elaborate vestments for their clergymen, on a more imposing edifice for their place of worship. They leave the Elm Street Baptist Church and organize a new congregation with the word "Park" in it, or "Haven."

One result of the efforts by middle-class parishioners to remake their church in their own image, has been to rob the minister of his authority. He no longer makes more money than members of his congregation; he makes less. The church conforms in almost all respects to the prevailing beliefs of the overpowering majority. What makes this so cruel a situation is that belief in the efficacy of religion, if not in its substance, is widespread.

The South has been called a myth, and much of the South's interior dialogues are couched in terms of myths, particularly of religious myths. To these everyone but the devil and the Communists presumably subscribe. Thus when the Rev. Edward Cahill of the Charlotte Unitarian Church ran for the school board he seemed a sure bet, until several letters in the newspaper pointed out that Unitarians do not believe in the divinity of Jesus. The votes of a few hundred Unitarians, ten Jews, and that of the organizer for the Textile Workers union were all Cahill finally received.

All candidates in the South proclaim their belief in religion—Christian religion they call it. In all political advertisements the candidate's most important claim is that "He is an elder of the Second Presbyterian Church" or, "has been a member of the First Baptist Church for forty-three years." "He teaches a Sunday school class" is the most effective boast of all.

But in the South religion does not instruct the middle class, the middle class instructs religion. The new uses to which people put religion are manifold. Mr. W. W. Taylor, a former member of the North Carolina House of Representatives, appeared before a legislative committee in March of 1959. He came as a representative of small businessmen who opposed passage of a 75c minimum-wage law for the state. Said Mr. Taylor, "Jesus Christ would be out of place if He returned to earth where employers were told what they could pay their employees." Up in Kannapolis a clergyman was fired because during a Sunday sermon he used the phrase, "The wages of sin is death." A big donor called him in and said, "Why are you talking about wages? I have a union election coming up in my plant."

If anything, the dilemma of the Jewish clergy in the South is more excruciating than that of the Protestant. Where some Protestant clergymen definitely believe in what they say, pro or contra, the rabbi is frustrated. It is, without qualification, impossible to find a rabbi who does not hold segregation in contempt and does not hold in contempt those of his congregation who insist on his silence. The Jew missed an opportunity—an opportunity to give the sort of help he himself has had to ask all through these long centuries. He missed this opportunity not because he lacked sympathy for the Negro and his cause but because the Jew feared that his own security depended upon conforming to the habits and prejudices of the surrounding society. Like their Protestant counterparts, the Jewish middle-class congregants told their clergymen, "Stick to religion." While Protestants imposed the silence on their clergy because they feared the Negro, Jews imposed a silence on their rabbis because they feared the Protestants. Only the Negro was without fear, and the Negro was more threatened and deprived than whites, Jews or Protestants.

I remember one night mentioning to my rabbi and two officers of my temple that a new Jewish family had come to town. The officers whipped out their notebooks and asked the husband's name, the size of his family, his wife's age, and finally, "What does he do?" I said the newcomer was the CIO organizer in the area, and the two officers immediately closed their notebooks and said no more. For all they cared he might have been a grand inquisitor. This anti-union attitude reflects the culture of the local Protestant churches. In my city they would make Muhammad Ali the mayor tomorrow if somehow he could guarantee no minimum wages for laundry workers, and no collective bargaining contracts.

Where those who pay pray, the propertyless are left out in the cold and in the South they go to the tent evangelist. But Protestantism in the South is lucky because Martin Luther King probably saved it. In attempting to save his people he saved the Protestant churches of the South. "If blood is to flow in the streets of Birmingham make sure it's our blood and not the blood of our white brethren." This shamed many of the churches, and by the time of the Washington March of 1963 a number of the Southern churches were in attendance.

The Catholics did much better. It is true that they did not desegregate the churches and parochial schools in places where the surrounding society was very rigid on race. But if there was any "give" to the society, any interior debate, the Bishop could and did surprise many of his parishioners. When Archbishop Francis Rummell of New Orleans desegregated his school system there were devout Catholics who expressed immediate outrage. "No such orders have come from Rome," they shouted. "We are a monolithic structure."

Ah, but a monolithic structure they soon found they were not. They sent a petition to the Holy See, complaining they did not want to be desegregated. The Vatican dismissed this petition and told these segregationists, "The Bishop is the boss so now you have the wishes of the Holy Father, if you ever doubted he wanted integration."



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graduate school. Graduate programs in the arts and sciences, in turn, are consciously patterned to the "needs" of society. . . . Colleges of business, nursing, engineering, social work, law and architecture are periodically reviewed, and sometimes accredited, in accordance with outside professional standards. The tradition is not faculty control—it is faculty accommodation to the complex of forces that play on the university.

The present reality is that for the first time in the history of higher education forces within the university are seeking a larger voice in curriculum decisions. The blacks demand a curriculum relevant to ghetto problems. Liberal and radical whites demand a curriculum that examines the urban condition and the international conflicts of our time. . . . Major curriculum revision is in process on almost every campus in the country . . . [and] will very likely bring some major improvements. But if this is to be the outcome, administrators must relax about their prerogatives, as must the faculty. There is nothing sacrosanct about faculty control of the curriculum. There is no reason why students should not have vote as well as voice.

On most campuses this is likely to be a generally peaceful revolution, as far as faculty, administrators and students are concerned. The more difficult matter is the role of the trustees, who are typically far removed from any knowledge of or contact with the campus. How can trustees be made to understand that they too must relinquish some of their authority?

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*Ann Arbor, Mich.*

DEAR SIRS: These letters are representative of the many responses to my article in three respects. First, in each the reasoning is less careful than it ought to have been. Second, in each the response is not so much to what I said as to what that correspondent supposed I represent. Third, in each an honorable concern for concrete results leads to a rather hasty dismissal of democratic procedure.

My aim was to apply democratic ideals, soundly, to university practice. Democracy requires a known community of equals in which, because of their equality, each is entitled to an equal voice in matters properly the concern of that community. Many different kinds of issues arise in a university; depending on their kind they may be the proper concern of many different subcommunities. I argued that curricular decisions, being essentially professional in nature, are properly the business of the faculty community of the college in question, and ought to be made, with full democracy, within that community. In establishing these procedural principles I made no commitments regarding the wisdom of any substantive action or inaction.

Turning to my critics:

*Mr. Feir* has four complaints. (*1*) The democracy I defend (he contends) is really oligarchy. He thinks this because he attends only to the university community as a whole, of which the faculty is but a part. Decisions properly the business of the whole university, if made by only a part of it, would be oligarchical. But *are* curricular matters properly resolved by the entire community? Are students and faculty full equals in this sphere? That precisely is what is at issue; to assume that equality is to beg the central question. Democracy goes on within various communities. Intelligent democrats must determine which issues are appropriately decided by which communities.

(*2*) Perhaps democracy (he suggests) is not really suitable for the university after all. I deny this flatly, and am disheartened by an intelligent student's easy discouragement. Democracy is, in my view, the best way of governing any community of equals, *with respect to matters in which they are equal.* If it yields inferior results at times should we so quickly abandon it? In favor of what? Perhaps Mr. Feir is here only confusing democracy with formal vote counting. But the machinery is incidental. What really counts is whether the members of the community, being equals, have a truly equal voice in governing that community.

(*3*) What's going on here? I never said or suggested that *all* faculty members are highly competent in curricular matters, or that *only* faculty members are so. What I did say is that, as a body, the faculty is the most competent group available for such decisions. They also happen to be the body *answerable* for these decisions.

(*4*) I fail (he suggests) to look at substantive issues. Not so. I deliberately refrained from entering substantive controversies, although I do so actively in my university, and urge students to do likewise. . . . Procedural principles and substantive results are related, of course, but must sometimes be distinguished, and I urged this distinction for the sake of intellectual clarity.

*Mr. Burkhead* complains that my account of democratic faculty control of curriculum is not in full accord either with tradition or present reality. He is quite right, of course, not only because faculties are restricted by some outside interests but because in many colleges trustees and administrators have not appreciated the merits of democracy. But I was seeking not so much to make a report as to sketch an ideal.

Mr. Burkhead is not clear about his own ideals. Does he favor faculty accommodation to the "complex of outside forces" and wish only to enlarge the field of forces? Or does he regret the lack of faculty "independence"? My own view, which he probably shares, is that faculty members ought indeed to be responsive, in their larger purposes, to many societal needs, and that foremost among these needs are those of their students. The highest degree of this responsibility is achieved, however, when teaching and research functions are performed with integrity. In the long run that performance must be judged by the citizens who support the institution. That does not mean, however, that citizens, or legislators, or students, ought to have voting power in the day-to-day management of the curriculum, or other professional affairs.

I agree with Mr. Burkhead that the decision-making procedures of our universities are in general need of improvement; in some institutions that need is grave. The greatest present challenge, however, lies in removing important educative affairs from the hands of administrators, who are properly functionaries, to the hands of student, or faculty, or student-faculty bodies, whose proper business they are. The task *is* to democratize the university, doing so with a full understanding of what democracy is.

*Mr. Stevens* is confused. (*1*) I may be wrong in my views about democracy, or about the distinction between faculty and students, but I do not think that presenting them straightforwardly is either condescending or paternalistic.

(*2*) I never dreamed of arguing that we ought to "live with what we have because it's here." What apparitions dance before his eyes?

(*3*) How my argument can be likened to an attack on a protest march on a given day on the ground that a baseball game is to take place on the same day, is beyond my power to grasp. The best I can make of it is that Mr. Stevens views procedures—democracy and all that stuff—as but a game, which must not be allowed to slow the results that *he* thinks really count. It makes me shiver.

(*4*) Mr. Stevens scoffs at rationality in appraising social institutions. How can one reason with him? Rational is precisely what I have tried to be. Without rationality democracy in any context has little chance of success. The good will of Mr. Stevens and others is not enough. Long-term improvements—in the universities and in society—require rational procedures, intelligently defended and humanely applied.

*Carl Cohen*



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# BOOKS & THE ARTS

## The All-American Frame-Up

THE CASE THAT WILL NOT DIE: Commonwealth vs. Sacco and Vanzetti. *By Herbert B. Ehrmann. Little, Brown & Co. 576 pp. $12.50.*

**FRED J. COOK**
*Mr. Cook is the author of many special articles for* The Nation. *His most recent books are* The Plot Against the Patient *and* What So Proudly We Hailed *(both Prentice-Hall).*

The executions of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti—"the good shoemaker" and "the poor fish peddler"—in Massachusetts in late August 1927, have remained for forty-two years a nettle in the American conscience, the cause of a generation's anguish and of a continuing debate in which the concept of the sanctity of institutions and authority is pitted against a humanistic concern for life and justice.

For Herbert B. Ehrmann, the last surviving counsel of the Sacco-Vanzetti case, this is the case that will not die, and his title is both accurate as history and doubtless prophetic of the future. Why should this be so? Here were two humble, unknown Italian immigrants, tried, condemned and executed for the holdup murder of two payroll guards in South Braintree. There have been thousands of such cases. Why should this one have become a *cause célèbre* throughout the world—and the continuing cause of bitter dispute between two contending schools of thought?

The Sacco-Vanzetti case, perhaps more dramatically than any other, put American society on trial. It was the trial, not just of the defendants but of those who condemned them in disregard of evidence—of the district attorney who concealed and tortured vital facts and testimony; of the trial judge who aided and abetted him; of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts which refused to interfere; of the prestigious review committee headed by President A. Lawrence Lowell, of Harvard University, which also concealed and twisted evidence; and of the Governor of Massachusetts, who was interested only in the details that condemned, not in those that exculpated.

The resulting trauma is well described by Ehrmann in his introduction. He and the late William G. Thompson had been the last counsel for Sacco and Vanzetti, and the executions of men whom he felt to be completely innocent left him so spiritually devastated that for years he did not want to write about the case; he did not even want to talk about it. There would have been no such depth of bitterness if he and Thompson could have felt that the state "had earnestly sought the truth." What made the outcome so harrowing was the knowledge that "the authorities had intentionally refused to consider anything that might indicate the accused were not guilty, and had even blocked efforts to establish their innocence. We did not have the solace of believing that their deaths were unfortunate accidents, inevitable in the administration of justice."

This is precisely the issue that underlies much of the continuing debate about the Sacco-Vanzetti case. Conservatives, wedded to an immutable faith in the *status quo* and the perfection of its institutions, refuse to accept the fact that such an outrage to conscience and humanity could have been deliberately perpetrated. And certain types of academic minds, divorced from the realities of what occurs all too often in many district attorneys' offices and many courts, regard the possibility of frame-up as ridiculous and take pleasure in superior sneers at the intelligentsia of the twenties who, they say, let their emotions vitiate their judgment.

Such attitudes were vividly displayed in 1959 when the Joint Committee of the Judiciary of the Massachusetts legislature was asked to recommend a posthumous pardon for Sacco and Vanzetti. Justice Michael A. Musmanno, of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, who had been associated with the Sacco-Vanzetti defense in its last days, testified at length about the injustice of the trial and review procedures. During his questioning it became apparent that many members of the legislature, who were ignorant of vital details of the record, had come to the hearing with closed minds, incapable of believing that officials of the state could have been so wrong; horrified at the prospect that, if they acted, they would be casting a dark reflection on the entire hierarchy of Massachusetts in the 1920s. They simply could not bring themselves to do it.

The brotherhood of officialdom, whose prestige is involved once it is committed, in making error right, is a fact of life that had better be recognized and understood. Especially is this so in the mass society of the 1960s, where power is ever more concentrated and overwhelming, where the individual is ever weaker and more helpless. If one needs any reminder of this, one has only to turn to the witch-hunting atmosphere of the late 1940s and early 1950s, a period that was the ideological twin of the redbaiting 1919-20 era in which Sacco and Vanzetti were condemned. The blight of the trials of Alger Hiss, William Remington and the Rosenbergs reflects upon the American judicial system and the American conscience as heavily as the wrong done Sacco and Vanzetti.

Such, then, is the basic and continuing issue that gives the Sacco-Vanzetti case meaning for our time. Must our courts and institutions always be right? Must they never be criticized, must it always be *assumed* that they are infallible in their wisdom? Or must we be free to go behind the decisions to the evidence and, finding wrong, have the decency and the courage to correct it?

Those who rank faith above fact will have infinite difficulty (but perhaps not, for the resources of prejudice are infinite) in arguing away the massive documentation in this book. It is, of course, the work of a defense attorney who believes now, as he believed forty-two years ago, that two innocent men were done to death by the judicial system of Massachusetts. But it is not a defense lawyer's passionate brief. It is, considering everything, a restrained book that relies for its effect upon the most thorough and minute scrutiny of the records, both the trial records and original investigative records that Dist. Atty. Frederick G. Katzmann kept hidden from the defense until his case was won.

The background of the case involved two crimes. On December 24, 1919, there was a bungling, amateurish attempt at a payroll holdup in Bridgewater. Bandits leaped from a touring car into the street, and one—"the shotgun bandit," as he was later called—blasted away at the moving payroll delivery truck. The driver ducked around a trolley car and escaped with the payroll intact. On April 15, 1920, there was a second payroll holdup, this time in South Braintree. It bore all the earmarks of a highly professional operation. Five men took part. Two loitered on the streets to waylay guards carrying a $15,776.51 payroll to the Slater & Morrill Shoe Factory. The guards, Alexander Berardelli and



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Frederick A. Parmenter, were gunned to death; the payroll boxes snatched, and the escape made in a waiting Buick touring car driven by confederates.

Chief Michael E. Stewart of Bridgewater had participated in the infamous Red raids sparked by Atty. Gen. A. Mitchell Palmer—a dragnet operation in which thousands of "foreigners" and "radicals" were rounded up and held for deportation, in most instances without any justifying evidence. Chief Stewart, as Ehrmann shows, was so conditioned by this experience that he saw almost every crime as a Red plot and so leaped to the instantaneous belief that the Bridgewater and South Braintree crimes, so different in their execution, must be the work of the same band of "radicals." With a mind so bemused, he jumped to triumphant conclusion on the night of May 5, 1920, when Sacco and Vanzetti blundered into his net.

Sacco and Vanzetti were anarchists, frightened by the Palmer witch hunt and the deportations. They were both carrying revolvers, not unusual at that time in Massachusetts as Ehrmann shows; in addition Sacco, as the trusted night watchman of the plant where he worked, had to have a gun. It is significant perhaps, especially in view of recent Supreme Court rulings, to note that Sacco and Vanzetti were questioned without benefit of counsel—and without even being informed of why they were being held. They were questioned for a long time without any mention of the Bridgewater or South Braintree cases, and this, as they later contended, reinforced them in their belief that they were being held for their radical activities. Their major desire was to protect radical friends, and so they admittedly lied to police about their activities and purposes, giving authorities the principal plank in the platform for conviction—the theory that these lies showed a "consciousness of guilt," whereas in reality they probably showed only fear.

Chief Stewart decided, and District Attorney Katzmann backed him up, that Vanzetti, who had some shotgun shells in his pocket when arrested, must have been "the shotgun bandit" at Bridgewater; Sacco must have been the man who shot Berardelli and Parmenter at South Braintree. It is axiomatic in the law that, where a murder charge is involved, it takes precedence over a minor matter like an attempted holdup. Not so here. Katzmann, as he later admitted, did not have enough evidence to put Vanzetti into the South Braintree murder case at that time; so his strategy was to try Vanzetti first as "the shotgun bandit" at Bridgewater and then, having prejudiced his case by this conviction, to indict him for the South Braintree murders.

## HALFWAY DOWN THE COAST

*What we do*
*is what we can*
*do can*
*give, the tenderness*

## CAUGHT GIVING AWAY LOVE

*The laying on of an arm*
*gentle insistence of the hand*

*The sea insists*
*on coming to a beach*
*someplace*

*The sound is a constant offering*
*The hurt is suffering*
*the same things . again*

*I have 19 shirts in the drawer*
*I could give them all away and have 38*
*It's a big drawer of*
*things*

*And love? What is that*
*many-faceted mother?*

PAUL BLACKBURN

To achieve this first conviction, the basic evidence had to be tortured and changed. Witnesses at Bridgewater, one a garage mechanic, had described the bandit car as a Hudson; it now became a Buick because a Buick was needed to tie the Bridgewater and South Braintree crimes together. Pinkerton reports, concealed from the defense until 1926, showed that witness after witness had described "the shotgun bandit" as having a closely cropped mustache; at the trial, these same witnesses uniformly adopted the description "trimmed," implying that Vanzetti, who had one of the most luxuriant drooping mustaches ever known, must have trimmed it down as a disguise. One witness who had told the Pinkertons he did not even get a look at any of the holdup men's faces came into court and identified Vanzetti positively as "the shotgun bandit." "There is no question in my mind," he said.

As any good crime reporter knows, eyewitnesses' identifications in cases of split-second action are virtually worthless in the best of cases—and utterly worthless when, as here, the original versions given immediately after the event, when recollections are fresh, are drastically altered months later to fit the prosecution's case. But the defense, having no knowledge of the hanky-panky hidden in Katzmann's secret files, had no effective way to challenge and impeach these witnesses, and the jury believed them.

It believed despite the fact that Vanzetti in the Bridgewater case had virtually an airtight alibi. December 24 was what was known in the Italian community of Plymouth as "a day of remembrance," a fast day when only fish, usually eels, was eaten at the evening meal. Many Italians, even those who didn't particularly like eels, ate them with spaghetti on this one day of the year—and so they had reason to remember that when Vanzetti was supposed to have been staging a holdup in Bridgewater, he had been actually going from door to door in Plymouth, delivering his eels to his customers. How did Katzmann overcome this unanimous community testimony? By two techniques. The first involved pulling any number of dates out of the air and asking the witnesses to tell him what they were doing on those days. Having no particular point of reference, they couldn't. The second tactic was a racial sneer. "Some of those Italians up there told you what to say?"—a question that appealed to the prejudice of a Yankee jury, indicating that those suspect "foreigners," those Italians, were banding together in a lying cabal to protect their own countryman.

Katzmann was supported and upheld throughout by Judge Webster Thayer, a jurist who perhaps was best described by Justice Musmanno years later to the Massachusetts legislative committee as "a vain, stupid, prejudiced, biased and unqualified judge." With Vanzetti convicted, Judge Thayer—his mind already made up about "those anarchistic bastards," as he later called them—



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asked to be assigned to preside over the South Braintree murder trial in Dedham. With such a judge on the bench, the defendants were as good as convicted before the first juror was seated.

There is not room here to go into Ehrmann's massive compilation of the details of the hidden evidence and the manner in which the prosecution put its case together. He shows that strand after strand was either an outright fraud or infinitely suspect. The prosecution had taken fingerprints off the abandoned Buick in the South Braintree murder case. Until the arrest of Sacco and Vanzetti, these prints were supposed to identify the bandits—then they were filed away, hidden from the defense, and nothing more was heard of them. (See "The Missing Fingerprints," *The Nation*, December 22, 1962.) Capt. William H. Proctor, the top ballistic expert of the state police, a man who had been in charge of the investigation in its earlier stages and knew all about the fingerprints, kept insisting that Katzmann was trying the wrong men and was summarily removed from the investigation and replaced by the dedicated Chief Stewart. Later, when Katzmann was trying to show that the final, fatal shot into Berardelli's body had come from Sacco's .32 caliber Colt, Captain Proctor told him that he would not testify to this, and so a phony question was framed that allowed Proctor to testify that the bullet was "consistent" with having come from Sacco's gun—a reply that deceived both judge and jury, although all it meant was that the bullet in question had come from a .32 caliber Colt, of which there were thousands in existence.

It is in his discussion of this ballistics testimony that Ehrmann makes one of his most devastating points. Witnesses for the state had testified that the gunman who had first shot Berardelli stood over the guard as he slumped to the ground, pumping bullet after bullet into his body. The state contended that this gunman was Sacco.

Four bullets were recovered from the body of Berardelli, and one, labeled No. 3, was said to have been the fatal shot. Presumably all must have been fired from the same gun, since no witness reported having seen a two-gun gunman. Yet ballistics tests showed that three of the four bullets taken from Berardelli's body, like the two found in Parmenter, had been fired from a 7.65 millimeter foreign-make revolver that gave the bullets a right twist or spiral. Only one bullet, the fatal No. 3 bullet taken from Berardelli's body, had come from a gun having a left twist—essential if it had come from Sacco's .32 caliber Colt. How did the same gun fire three bullets into Berardelli with a right twist—and one with a left?

It was a manifest impossibility, and

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Ehrmann believes that there was a deliberate substitution of bullets by the prosecution. Ehrmann shows that the identifying marks on the base of bullet No. 3 are different from all the others, giving indications of having been made by a different hand with a different tool. He shows that the exhibits were so carelessly handled that a substitution could have been made at almost any time. And he says that even Maj. Calvin Goddard, the ballistic expert Katzmann brought in during the post-trial arguments to prove that the No. 3 bullet came from Sacco's gun, "agreed that there was nothing in the conduct of the trial which would lead one to place any great confidence in the exhibits."

All of this was, of course, discounted. In the Sacco-Vanzetti case, prejudice was so strong that the impossible became the possible, and not even the strongest evidence—evidence that cried aloud of innocence—meant a thing.

Especially striking in this respect is the account of Sacco's alibi. He had been away from his job on the day of the South Braintree holdup—to commit the holdup, the prosecution said; to go into Boston to get a passport to visit his family in Italy, where his mother had recently died, he said. Sacco told how, on his trip to Boston, he had chanced to meet several friends in the Italian community. He had had lunch with one, had been introduced to an advertising salesman, had gone to the Italian consulate, and later, just before his return home, had stopped off at a coffeehouse where he had met and chatted with others. How could these details be corroborated? How could defense witnesses be certain that this had all occurred on April 15 and not some other day?

As in the case of Vanzetti's "day of remembrance" in the Bridgewater trial, there was a point of reference. On this April 15 the Italian community was giving a testimonial dinner for John D. Williams, editor of the Boston *Transcript*. Sacco's friends had talked about this event, and indeed one of them, Antonio Dentamore, a Catholic priest, had actually attended the dinner. After the trial and conviction had begun to cast a cloud on America's reputation for justice, Gov. Alvan T. Fuller named the Lowell committee to re-examine the evidence.

Ehrmann describes vividly how Lowell tried to discredit the defense. Unknown to Thompson and Ehrmann, Lowell checked newspaper files and found, according to the *Transcript* and an Italian-language newspaper, that the dinner for editor Williams had been held on May 15, 1920, *after* Sacco and Vanzetti were in prison—not on April 15.

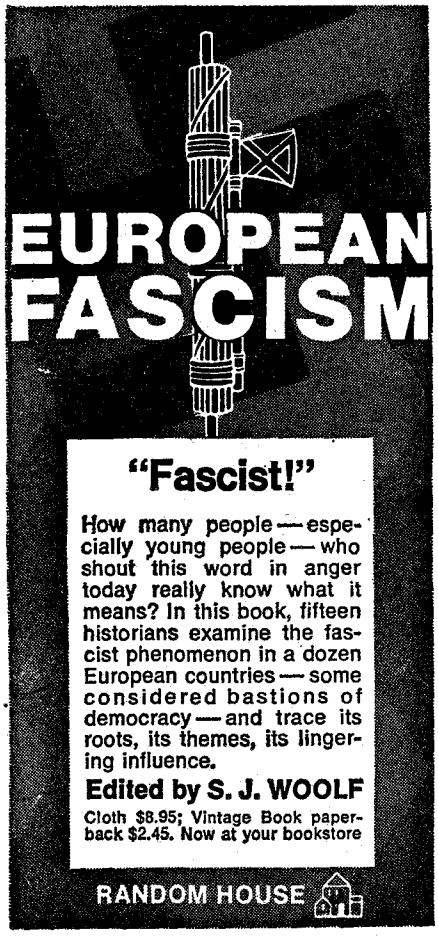
Thompson and Ehrmann were taken completely by surprise when they walked into the hearing room and found two of the Sacco alibi witnesses, Prof. Felice Guadagni and Albert Bosco, waiting to be questioned. Lowell attacked them in the best Katzmann manner. He flourished under their noses excerpts from the newspapers about the May 15 dinner and upbraided them for lying or being grossly wrong. The witnesses were dumbfounded, shaken—but stubborn. Especially Bosco. He insisted that, before he testified at Dedham, he had looked up the files of *La Notizia*, the Italian-language newspaper for which he worked, to make certain of the date. *La Notizia*, he said, had carried an account of the Williams dinner which he himself had written on April 16, the day after the event.

"It is perfectly obvious that is not so," Lowell snapped.

Thompson was shaken in his conviction of the innocence of his clients for the first time. He told Guadagni and Bosco that they must be wrong; the eminent President Lowell, of Harvard, had checked the details and would not deceive them. Guadagni was bewildered, but Bosco was adamant. Lowell dismissed all their previous testimony as obviously a tissue of falsehoods: "A most serious alibi has been destroyed."

The next day, it was Lowell who faced destruction. Bosco reappeared with the bound file of *La Notizia*. There, in the issue of April 16, just as he had said, was the account of the Williams testimonial dinner the day before. The account also said that Williams would soon be honored at *another* banquet "for the success of which a committee is actively working." The explanation was simple; there had been *two* banquets for Williams, one on April 15 when Sacco was in Boston, one on May 15 when he and Vanzetti were in jail.

Lowell and his distinguished cohorts on the committee were taken completely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*There have been so many deaths*
*due to carbon m. poisoning*
*that this is just*
*a note to suggest you leave*
*a little air come into your room. Also,*

*I hope you don't get involved*
*with young men or older*
*or made from poppies (?) and Hippy's.*
*I hope you are not letting*
*the drugs get you. And don't get mixed up*
*with drugs. It might spoil*
*your change for getting the cert.*
*you are working for. Remember*
*it is costing quite a lot.*

*Don't scold. I am afraid of your*
*trips to and near Chicago.*

PETER KLAPPERT



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aback; Thompson and Ehrmann were elated. This *had* to mean that the "most serious alibi" Lowell had congratulated himself for destroying had been reinstated with twofold force; surely, the distinguished President Lowell of Harvard, and his prestigious colleagues would recognize this and be convinced of the innocence of Sacco. But they were not. The lesson of the incident is that not even the most graphic demonstration of truthfulness can change the minds of committed men.

Though the hearing record had included every damaging detail of the previous day's colloquy, the record for the following day, the day of revelation, by President Lowell's direct and specific orders, contained only this brief and utterly meaningless paragraph:

> *Executive Chamber, State House, Boston*
> *Friday, July 15, 1927, 10:30 a.m.*
> Investigation Resumed with all Members of the Committee Present.
> (The witness Bosco who was on the stand yesterday afternoon again appeared, with the editions of the paper *La Notizia*, requested by the Committee, and the Committee, all counsel present, and the witness looked in the books produced by the witness.)

Lowell warned the Italians that they must not print anything about the incident in their Italian-language newspapers, and Sacco and Vanzetti went to their deaths without any acknowledgment from him that Sacco's "most serious alibi" had stood the ultimate test. Fifteen months after Sacco and Vanzetti had been executed, lawyers preparing the official record of the case wrote in baffllement to Lowell, Thompson and Ehrmann for an explanation of what they properly called the "meaningless" notation of July 15. Only then, fifteen months after the victims were dead, knowing that the truth must out, did President Lowell acknowledge what had happened.

That single incident tells all one needs to know about Lowell himself, about the ethics of the judicial and political hierarchy of Massachusetts at that time, and about the fundamental human reasons why the Sacco-Vanzetti case is, in truth, *The Case That Will Not Die.*


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# His Own Special Blend

FIDEL CASTRO. *By Herbert Matthews. Simon & Schuster. 384 pp. $6.95.*


**WILLIAM H. BLANCHARD**
*Mr. Blanchard is the author of* Rousseau and the Spirit of Revolt *(University of Michigan Press), a study in the psychology of revolutionary ideas.*


This book is not a biography in the generally accepted sense. It is a study of the interactions between a man and a nation during an intensive phase in the development of each. Mr. Matthews' objective is not so much to tell the story of Fidel Castro's life as to help the reader understand Castro's personality and its role in shaping the unique character of the Cuban Revolution, with particular emphasis on that period from the attack on the Moncada Barracks to the present time.

Matthews is a powerful and persuasive writer with an unusual gift for catching the nuances of speech and behavior. Through his depth of portrayal, he manages to give the reader a feeling of being on the scene at the time each incident happens. But the book is more than simply a well-told story. Through his description of Castro's personal qualities, Matthews elucidates the unique character of the Cuban brand of communism and refutes the charge that the Cuban leader has been "taken over" by Moscow. While Castro has stated on numerous occasions that he is a Communist and a Marxist, it is clear that these words mean what Castro wants them to mean and that their meaning in Cuba is quite different from that in Soviet Russia and China. The features of Castro's personality that emerge again and again are his overwhelming vitality, physical, intellectual and emotional; his irresistible urge to dominate and his insistence upon acting on his own judgment, even if it leads him into error. From the beginning, it was evident that Castro was anti-Yankee, not pro-Communist. Even the Communist press of Cuba was against him, calling his attack on the Moncada Barracks and his subsequent raids from the Sierra Maestra *"Putschism."* This attitude is, of course, typical of modern Communist doctrine, particularly Russian communism. The United States has become a conservative nation as we have begun to forget our revolutionary origins. In like manner, the Soviets are increasingly concerned with maintaining a stable world situation and a favorable trade balance as their own revolution recedes into the past. They are not against a pro-Soviet revolution if it has a good chance of success, but they have become increasingly conservative in the risks they are willing to take in order to achieve that


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## OVER NEWARK

*Imagine me as the solitary Negro,*
*impassive, who drifted past you*
*like a distant flock of crows*
*this morning on your way to work.*
*What could I have been thinking?*
*A man without emotions could be dangerous.*

*I roll like a tight gear down 14th Street*
*past beckoning queers and freaks.*
*I fear the unnatural despairs.*
*Let's take a holiday, I say*
*and I pay my fee for a little honest darkness.*
*The subway's rumble carries me*
*further than you'd care to understand . . .*

*where I will forget your inquisitive*
*glances and your pain, the daily pastures*
*like comfortable graves you're headed for.*
*I am the man truly alone, speeding*
*toward Jersey, invisible. Photo-negative,*

*I emerge. Industrial fartgas fills my lungs*
*and I rise over Newark's junkyards*
*laid out like wisely unattempted lives.*
*Sailing high, I forget the odors*
*you drag everywhere like children,*
*the uncertain steps into each other's*

*arms. Solitude, my chosen shape . . .*
*Let no man down there call my name.*
*The fog drops like a hurt animal,*
*distance is eclipsed by the flesh of this world.*

STEVEN ORLEN

success. Thus the Communist party first opposed the recent student actions in Paris and jumped on the bandwagon at the last moment when it was obvious that the momentum could not be stopped. The Cuban Communists took a similar attitude toward Castro.

Once the revolution was a success, the Communists would have liked to take over and run things. But this was not possible. Matthews documents a number of attempts of this kind and describes how Castro thwarted the influence of those Communists who were directed by Moscow. Castro's adoption of the trappings of communism is convincingly presented by Matthews as a utilitarian device. Castro has long had an abiding hostility for the United States. He resented American support of Batista and the presence of American gamblers, oil companies and other business concerns growing wealthy in the Cuban sunshine while his people starved. His acceptance of communism was a natural consequence of his desire to establish his diplomatic connections and his sources of economic support outside the American-dominated Western powers.

The charge that Fidel Castro "betrayed the revolution" has also become a catch phrase among his opponents. The evidence for this position is derived from the fact that Castro promised certain things like a volunteer army, free speech, free press and an independent judiciary, none of which he delivered. Matthews handles this charge by concentrating, not upon the inconsistency between what Castro said and what he did but upon the total value of the Cuban Revolution to the great mass of the poor and disenfranchised. Castro, he points out, believed, rightly or wrongly, that he could not accomplish what he wanted for the Cuban people without taking over complete control. He may have sincerely believed that he could achieve his objective by democratic methods before he gained power, but once he was faced with the burden of responsibility and the difficult task of erasing the years of corruption of the Batista regime, he felt more drastic methods were necessary. As Matthews puts it, "Fidel did what he thought was best, or thought he had to do at a given time. . . . Certainly he was more idealistic before he assumed power than after, but this is true of every candidate for power or for elected office, whether the system is democratic, authoritarian, or revolutionary."

While Matthews believes that Castro was not a Communist during his Sierra Maestra days, but became one after the revolution had succeeded, he does not conclude that Castro was driven into the arms of the Communists by United States policy since the revolution. Castro was anti-Yankee from the start; his movement toward communism was a consequence of his original attitude toward the United States and the gradual realization that he could not achieve his goals for Cuba by more democratic means. These factors and the need for trade outlets other than those with the United States made him sympathetic to Communist ideology. Further, as Matthews points out, the authoritarian solution was more in line with Castro's own personality: "The temptations that an authoritarian solution offers are great, and to one of Castro's temperament they were irresistible."

Matthews is at his best when portraying Castro's exuberance, optimism and personal charm. After the landing in the *Granma* with his small band of rebels on Cuban soil, Castro was surrounded in a cane field and Batista's soldiers began to close in upon him. At this moment, he gathered his followers and put his arms on their shoulders saying, "Now, when we get clear and organize ourselves, we can start our campaign." After a long series of economic failures, bitter privations and countless setbacks in attempting to get the new Cuba on its feet, he said to Matthews in 1967: "In the 1970s we are going to have so much coffee and fruit that we will give it freely to people—and sugar, too." The picture, so often painted, of this exuberant, willful, passionate and dominant personality taking orders from the Kremlin is rather incongruous. It simply does not hold up psychologically.

Matthews is obviously charmed by Castro but he is not hypnotized. The book presents a frank discussion of many of the failures of the Cuban Revolution, as well as its accomplishments. If there is fault in the book it is in organization and direction, particularly toward the end. It is organized in part along the lines of chronology and in part by subject matter. The lucidity and the persuasive power developed in the early part begin to fade toward the end. Integration becomes loose. Separate items are discussed but often not interrelated. Altogether, however, Matthews' book is an absorbing, fascinating and perceptive account of the rise of Fidel Castro and the new Cuba.



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# Nation Book Marks

**CHARLES STEIN**

*Mr. Stein is the author of two books of poems,* Provisional Measures *(Gnomon Press), and* The Virgo Poem *(Angel Hair Books). Books of the Black Sparrow Press of Los Angeles, Calif. (P.O. Box 25603), include poetry by Michael McClure, Gerard Malanga, Armand Schwerner, Kenneth Koch, Paul Goodman, among others, carefully and tastefully produced in both paper editions and signed, hard-cover, limited editions. The works reviewed below are a selection from the list.*

SALT & CORE. *By Rochelle Owens. Black Sparrow Press. 54 pp. $15. Paper $4.50.*

Written in the bop-talk, belly-gut idiom of jazz poetry of the fifties, *Salt & Core* is a strange collection for a "Lady" poet —strange because the energy of the poetry is so phallic and sharply outward. Many of the poems are anecdotal and reminiscent of Lawrence Ferlinghetti, but her manner is tougher, her rhythms tighter, her wit usually, though not always, less simplistic, and her personality more complex than his. She is not an "intellectual" poet, and when she attempts sophisticated observations on, say, verbal usage, she tends to be cute and obvious. She is at her best when the cute side of her combines with the more violent and guttural. Several poems deal with topics from ancient Mediterranean culture. Her attention is neither upon history nor myth, but she uses ancient persons or artifacts as opportunity for intense expressive display.

GUNSLINGER: Book I. *By Edward Dorn. Black Sparrow Press. 52 pp. $4 paper.*

*Gunslinger: Book I* is the first part of what promises to be a major American narrative poem. Its hero is an immortal demigod in a cowboy setting, who pauses from his wanderings on a late afternoon to chat with the poet, a barmaid madam named Lil, and the hero's talking, turned-on horse named Claude Levi-Strauss. As TV Western films have made the cowboy dialect part of the modern American verbal idiom, Dorn has been able to throw back articles, concepts and heroes from the modern world into the cowboy tongue and context with startling effectiveness. Through the medium of his four main characters, Dorn explores intricate mythical and philosophic issues, though the poem requires dramatic, more than philosophic, analyses. In *Gunslinger* the poet combines the art of the epic singer, the balladeer, the dramatist, and the lyricist in the swing of a Western speech maintained with breath-taking mastery. One of the fine poems of the decade.

POEMS 1964-1967. *By Jerome Rothenberg. Black Sparrow Press. 100 pp. $15. Paper $5.*

This is a collection of five short books of poems, three published previously, two, *Further Sightings* and *A Steinbook & More*, printed here for the first time. *Sightings* includes nine poems, each composed of a series of single lines to be read separated by "a silence equal or proportionate to the duration of each succeeding phrase." The content of the individual lines are not connected. Each poem depends almost entirely on the aural effect of its series of phrases and pauses. Both *Sightings* and *Further Sightings* are competent and sophisticated explorations of certain possible structures for the short poem, but they belong to that ever-growing body of artistic production which seizes upon a technical possibility, accomplishes it adequately, and makes it unnecessary for anyone else to take up the task. *Conversations* is more interesting. Single short lines alternate between two different speakers, and a wider range of effects is created by the expectations and surprises made possible by the "conversation" form. In *A Steinbook & More*, Rothenberg pays homage to Gertrude Stein, the Magna Mater of the abstract poem. These are, for the most part, accomplished performances of Miss Stein's music on the instrument of Rothenberg's voice. Rothenberg does have his own voice, as is evidenced particularly in the more extended passages in *The Gorky Poems*. He is at his richest, in fact, when not bound by what are finally tricky, at best merely effective, exploitations of structural problems.

22 LIGHT POEMS. *By Jackson Mac Low. Black Sparrow Press. 71 pp. $15. Paper $6.*

At the end of *22 Light Poems*, Mac Low gives us a detailed account of the intricate and varied technical procedures he followed in composing them. Most important is a chart consisting of "280 names of kinds of light." Chance operations are sometimes used in the selection of phrases from short stories, articles or this chart. Mac Low seems primarily concerned with the registration of precise physical, psychic or social events, within a musical structure that crisply articulates that precision. Almost every line of each poem contains one of the names of light which Mac Low applies to chance selected phrases, other nouns, events or circumstances, in a great variety of ways, as if to bathe them in a constantly changing luminous context. *22 Light Poems* is an extraordinary and radiant book.

GREED. *By Diane Wakoski. Black Sparrow Press. 23 pp. $10. Paper $6.*

*Greed* is one of those impossibly frustrating elliptical and neurotic confessions that is an instance of what it proposes to be confessing. Its two sections are titled "Of Polygamy" and "Of Accord and Principle." The first deals with greed in love and marriage, but Miss Wakoski's sense of the nature of greed, by means of snake and fish imagery, reeks of the corruption it seeks to define, and infects her sense of the most natural of longings: "Greed inches out of my mouth./ It is an invitation/ for you/ to touch/ me." In the second part, many unpleasant and true things are said about

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the dishonesty of poets who are greedy for both their own integrity and good fortunes, who confess their corruption in public display and persist in it, to reap the rewards of money and fame. Miss Wakoski is a poet I have long admired for the freedom and lucidity of her imagination and the acuity of her invective when it is pure and unrestrained: that she includes herself as object of attack in this poem, in no way saves her from its imprecations.

# THEATRE / Harold Clurman

In 1964 I wrote here apropos of James Baldwin's *Blues for Mr. Charlie* that "most of us are not yet burningly aware not only of 'the fire next time' but that the conflagration has already begun." I referred to the seething of black militancy against unkept promises and the extreme tardiness of change.

What is changing rapidly is theatrical silence on the subject. This season alone I have seen Howard Sackler's *The Great White Hope*; Roger Cornish's *Open Twenty-Four Hours*; Dan Tucker and Jay Broad's *Red, White and Maddox;* McCrea Imbrie and Neil Selden's *Someone's Comin' Hungry* (the work of white writers); Adrienne Kennedy's *Cities in Bezique*; the several productions of the Negro Ensemble Company, notably Lonne Elder's *Ceremonies in Dark Old Men*; Lorraine Hansberry's *To Be Young, Gifted and Black* (by blacks); *Big Time Buck White,* a collaboration between a white writer, Joseph Dolan Tuotti, and a black company from Watts, and most recently *A Black Quartet,* four new plays by black writers Ben Caldwell, Ronald Milner, Ed Bullins and LeRoi Jones.

*A Black Quartet* was presented by the Chelsea Theater Center, a group, now in its third year, devoted to producing the work of new playwrights at the Brooklyn Academy of Music. (It has already mounted thirty-nine plays.) *A Black Quartet* is given in cooperation with Woodie King, an able black director and writer. The evening in Brooklyn interested me both for the plays' varied merits as drama and for the questions raised by such manifestations.

Caldwell's *Prayer Meeting, or The First Militant Minister* is a farce in which a black burglar rifles an apartment whose tenant happens to be a black minister. On his entrance, the minister begins to pray for forgiveness for one of his race who has killed a white policeman. The burglar, who has stopped outside the door and heard the minister's plea, indignantly answers in the role of the "Lord." He bids the frightened cleric alter his prayer. The minister must support a man who avenged himself on the brutal cop and urge others to follow that example. The minister changes his tune: he prays that his brethren may do as the killer did when their people are abused.

The audience, composed of nearly as many teen-aged blacks as of older white and black folk, laughed and applauded in rapturous glee. The fact that the fake Lord who invokes violence is himself a criminal did not in the least trouble anyone. The play is, after all, a wry joke. But the pattern repeats itself in Ed Bullins' more sophisticated playlet, *The Gentleman Caller.*

In this a gentleman caller, presumably a black bourgeois, passively accepts the condescension of a white rich bitch—all mechanical glitter in a stylized makeup and attended by an ominously correct black maid. When the white monster becomes too aggressively haughty the maid shoots her and then the gentleman caller for having been so despicably nice in the face of the woman's insolent cordiality. The maid then proceeds to the telephone, whose intermittent rings she has been bluntly answering throughout the foregoing events. To *this* particular caller she now proclaims that death must be the wages of all enemies of the black people. Again the audience shouts its joyous satisfaction.

Bullins' gifts as a writer have been demonstrated in *Electronic Nigger* and other plays. But despite the comparative polish in the writing and the symbolic stage imagery of the present play, I suspect he wrote it to fulfill a "popular" need. And though this may be laudable, I find that in accomplishing it, he has unwittingly written down to his audience. Even poster art does not have to be as blatant as this play proves to be under its surface gloss.

There are parables which will stir the simplest folk, but these are rarely written by the artfully instructed. If Bullins hopes to help his cause he must do so in his own (more complex) person rather than as a private in the ranks of the committed.

LeRoi Jones's contribution, which he calls *Great Goodness of Life (A Coon Show)*, is written in the same spirit though it is a more compactly accomplished piece. In it Court Royal, who is rather proud of being a post office employee (the audience finds this very funny) and in every respect a blameless citizen, is accused in a Kafkaesque fashion by an unseen Voice (a white judge) of having harbored a black murderer. First he insists on his trusted position as a government worker as clear evidence of his innocence. When this does not avail he asks for his own lawyer. A lawyer is thrust on him as his own, one who snivels, grovels and sneers. He bids Court Royal to plead guilty. Then the accused is promised that if he will fire an emblematic gun at the "shade" of the murderer—who, he is told, has already been executed—he will be allowed to go free. Royal fires: the gun is real, and so is the target. He has killed an unknown man.

This turns out to be a nightmare, the horrid dream of a simple middle-class black man, wracked in slumber with foreboding, and fears which in his waking state he suppresses with apparent complacency.

The point is well made, but the play is not to be compared in intensity or personal meaningfulness with the same author's *Dutchman.* He may well be contemptuous of such criticism because, as I have already suggested, he now proposes, like Bullins, to create the most immediate effects for a still insufficiently aroused or fortified black audience. In both cases, I respect the intention but I doubt the efficacy of such efforts on the part of men whose capacities have more extended scope


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and deeper roots. Their ambition must reach beyond these self-imposed limitations if they are to confer maximum benefits.

Anger is a fuel which may ignite inspiration, but anger alone will not provoke the proud sense of identity which these playwrights hope to foster. This is done when blacks are revealed as they are in the daily course of their lives. That is why I was most affected by Ronald Milner's *The Warning—A Theme for Linda*. It shows us three generations of black women, grandmother, mother, granddaughter, in their relationship to their men: their hopes in them, their disillusionment and their further demands.

The play badly needs cutting and is somewhat awkward in structure. It is moving because it is warm in its closeness to the real people it portrays. The characters are not being used as instruments to illustrate an "idea." When the young girl around whom the play centers offers herself to her boy and asks if he will prove a strong person and not the kind of feckless being her once idealized grandfather proved to be, we sense that she is growing up. She wants her man to be strong because she refuses to waste herself on weakness as her grandmother has done, and we feel bound to her and to all her family through an understanding which is in fact consanguinity.

The acting in *The Warning* is especially touching in the performance by Vikki Summers as Linda, Leslie Rivers as her mother, and most particularly by Minnie Gentry as the grandmother. Miss Gentry's long account of her life with her drunkard husband, whose negligence led to the death of their child, is the most powerful expression of pained feeling that I have seen since Bea Richards' great outburst in Baldwin's *The Amen Corner*.

Virtually all the acting in *A Black Quartet* is good and a special word of praise is due Errol Jaye who is entirely genuine as the minister in Caldwell's comedy, as the grandfather in Milner's piece, and as Court Royal in LeRoi Jones's play.

The acting and the audience with its deeply felt—though "intellectually" indiscriminate—cries of sympathy, were for me the most memorable aspects of the evening. For all my misgivings about the nature of the excitation in parts of these plays I could not fail to be impressed. Still, I pray that these representative writers do not fall into the error that vitiated the work of many "left-wing" dramatists of the thirties, that of following a path that too narrowly interprets their mission, and thus seeking to move their audiences by slogans of which derision, hate and self-consuming rebelliousness constitute the main characteristics. Vision with compassion are forever the sustaining and saving ingredients of the most ardent utterances in art.

# RECORDS

## DAVID HAMILTON

COPLAND: *Dance Symphony*; *Short Symphony*. London Symphony Orchestra. Aaron Copland; cond. Columbia MS 7223. $5.98.

A welcome addition to the Copland discography is the first recording of the fine but rarely played *Short Symphony* (1933), hitherto best known in the 1937 rescoring for clarinet, string quartet and piano (of which there is an excellent recording, by Harold Wright, the Juilliard Quartet, and the composer, on CBS 32 11 0042). The original version throws the spare texture into much higher relief, and its greater extremes of color, register and volume illuminate the interplay of the irregular interlocking rhythmic configurations. The performance shows some rough edges and is somewhat coarsely recorded. More successfully executed is the 1929 *Dance Symphony* (extracted from the 1925 score of a ballet devised in collaboration with Harold Clurman), a less concentrated but entirely characteristic score that would still make admirable material for a choreographer.

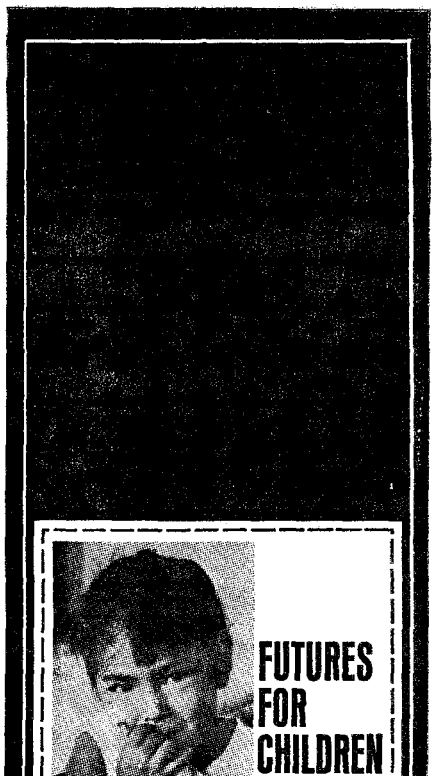
BERLIOZ: *Roméo et Juliette*, Op. 17. Patricia Kern, soprano; Robert Tear, tenor; John Shirley-Quirk, bass. John Alldis Choir, London Symphony Orchestra and Chorus. Colin Davis; cond. Philips PHS 2-909. $11.58 (two records).

Excerpts from *Roméo et Juliette*, Op. 17. BOITO: Prologue to *Mefistofele*. Nicola Moscona, bass; Robert Shaw Chorale (in Boïto). NBC Symphony Orchestra. Arturo Toscanini; cond. RCA Victrola VIC-1398, $2.50 (mono).

*Harold en Italie*, Op. 16. Walter Trampler, viola. London Symphony Orchestra. Georges Prêtre; cond. RCA Red Seal LSC-3075, $5.98.

*Hymne des Marseillais* (and orchestral works by other French composers). Soloists, chorus, Orchestre de Paris. Jean-Pierre Jacquillat; cond. Angel S-36518, $5.98.

The Berlioz anniversary year will doubtless bring many recordings, but few are likely to be as good as the Philips *Roméo*, which is the best embodiment to date of this subtle and complex work. As often with Berlioz, the subtlety and complexity are in the detail, and Davis' special virtue is that he realizes all the textural and rhythmic detail without sacrifice of momentum—and without the rigidity and strenuous stress-accents that mar the Toscanini reading of the *Roméo*

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*Seul-Fête* sequence and the *Love Scene*, though this, too, is remarkably well played (these were studio recordings, made immediately after the complete Toscanini broadcast that is issued on RCA LM-7034). The *Mefistofele* scene makes an interesting coupling; the Boïto scene's sonic conception derives from Berlioz, but its structural basis is traditional Italian-operatic—a combination that suits Toscanini's technique.

*Harold* is probably Berlioz's closest approach to a conventional symphony, the solo viola being an obbligato rather than a concertizing instrument—in the composer's literary terms, an observer rather than a participant. Certain elements in the first two movements suggest Beethoven's Seventh Symphony, but the actual construction, the juxtaposition of ideas, is far from Beethovenian. The use of thematic recurrence is Berlioz's substitute for closely knit development, and it works remarkably well, especially as interlocked with the role of the viola (whose delicate handling within the texture is always marvelous to hear). Because of its surface conventionality, *Harold* has been one of Berlioz's more frequently (if less imaginatively) played works; the present performance suffers from some vagaries of tempo but is otherwise acceptable.

Berlioz's arrangement of *La Marseillaise*, for double chorus, boys' chorus and large orchestra, is a splendid example of his sonic techniques employed at a simple level. A "mainstream" composer, tempted by possibilities of contrapuntal and melodic development, could never have brought it off, but Berlioz just surrounds his *donnée* with a succession of masterful choral-orchestra panoplies. This is far from encompassing all of his abilities, but it effectively isolates his most celebrated skill. (The record also includes such chestnuts as Debussy's *Faun*, Dukas' *Sorcerer's Apprentice*, and Saint-Saëns' *Danse macabre*, plus a curious Scherzo by Lalo—and Chabrier's *España*, which may well be the most brilliantly orchestrated chestnut in the repertory, and is certainly the prime source of much of de Falla's music.)

MAHLER: Symphony No. 9. Moscow Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra. Kiril Kondrashin; cond. Melodiya/Seraphim SIB 6029. $4.98 (two records).

This resolutely literal and non-"neurotic" performance comes up with some good points, especially in its handling of the various tempos of the *Ländler* movement, but stretches of the piece are virtually unrecognizable. Kondrashin obviously believes in the "tunes," emphasizing their regular periodic elements and suppressing the individuality of lines he considers subsidiary. The first movement, in particular, thus becomes trivial—superficially plausible from point to point, but with the climaxes stripped of their vital disintegrative tensions—and the Rondo-Burlesque emerges as simply jaunty. Although intonation and ensemble are not up to the best Western standards, a good deal of the playing is lively and skillfully phrased; unfortunately, the recorded sound lacks real impact. This is at least an intriguing document for students of comparative performing traditions.

NANCARROW: Studies for Player Piano. Columbia MS 7222. $5.98.

The player piano offers possibilities that have rarely been exploited by serious composers; its punched paper roll can give the same degree of rhythmic precision and "digital" dexterity that is now available from electronic means, and it can play up to eighty-eight notes simultaneously. These twelve studies, selected from the thirty-seven that Conlon Nancarrow, a 57-year-old American resident in Mexico, has composed since 1948, illustrate the possibilities—and also the limitations, especially timbral and dynamic. Since Chopin and others have escalated our expectations with respect to the "study," it should be pointed out that these pieces hew pretty close to the term's literal meaning, each one concentrating on the exposition of a particular complicated metrical relationship between parts (even, in one case, an irrational one); in all other respects, the vocabulary is conventional, even cliché ridden. I predict a possible camp vogue for Study No. 12, the Spanish piano piece gone wild—and "played," of course, with metronomic rigidity.

STRAUSS: *Don Juan*; Final Scene from *Salome*. Inge Borkh, soprano (in *Salome*). Chicago Symphony Orchestra. Fritz Reiner; cond. RCA Victrola VICS-1392. $2.50.

Although dating from the earliest days of stereo recording, this *Don Juan* admirably preserves the extraordinary virtuosity and precision of the Chicago Symphony in Reiner's early years. The *Salome* excerpt is less satisfactory, for the soprano, who seems to be in a different acoustic space, is excessively favored over the orchestra.

Other recordings of interest:

SCHUBERT: Symphonies Nos. 1 and 3. Menuhin Orchestra. Yehudi Menuhin; cond. Angel S-36551. $5.98.

Symphonies Nos. 4 and 5. Same performers. Angel S-36592. $5.98.

DVORAK: *Slavonic Dances*, Opp. 46 and 72. Cleveland Orchestra. George Szell; cond. Columbia MS-7208. $5.98. (An economy reissue of sorts: what previously took two records is compressed onto one by omitting the repeats; the performance is admirable.)

PUCCINI: *La Bohème*. Licia Albanese, soprano; Tatiana Menotti, soprano; Beniamino Gigli, tenor; Afro Poli, baritone. La Scala Chorus & Orchestra. Umberto Berretoni; cond. Seraphim IB-6038. $4.98 (two records, reissue of a 1938 recording, mono).

Arias and Songs. Ezio Pinza, bass, with various accompaniments. RCA Victrola VIC-1418. $2.50 (reissue of recordings made between 1927 and 1952; the majority are early, and immaculately sung).


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**Aren't there a lot of delusions connected with promiscuous sex? Costly delusions of popularity, of superiority, of importance? — Worth thinking about, isn't it?**

**Most scientists, engineers, and accountants are ivory tower yokels.**

**Other people's ignorance is reprehensible. — How about yours? — You may know how to send a space ship to Jupiter. Do you know whether you are being fair and just to your neighbor next door? To the members of your family? To the fellow standing next to you?**

**Do you know whether he's unhappy? What is unhappiness? Is it tension? Does he display signs of tension when you're around?**

**We are being subjected to the sorry spectacle of self-appraised "geniuses" who know all sorts of interesting things about the atom, but not enough about life to resist the tricks of those who would enslave us.**

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# Crossword Puzzle No. 1297

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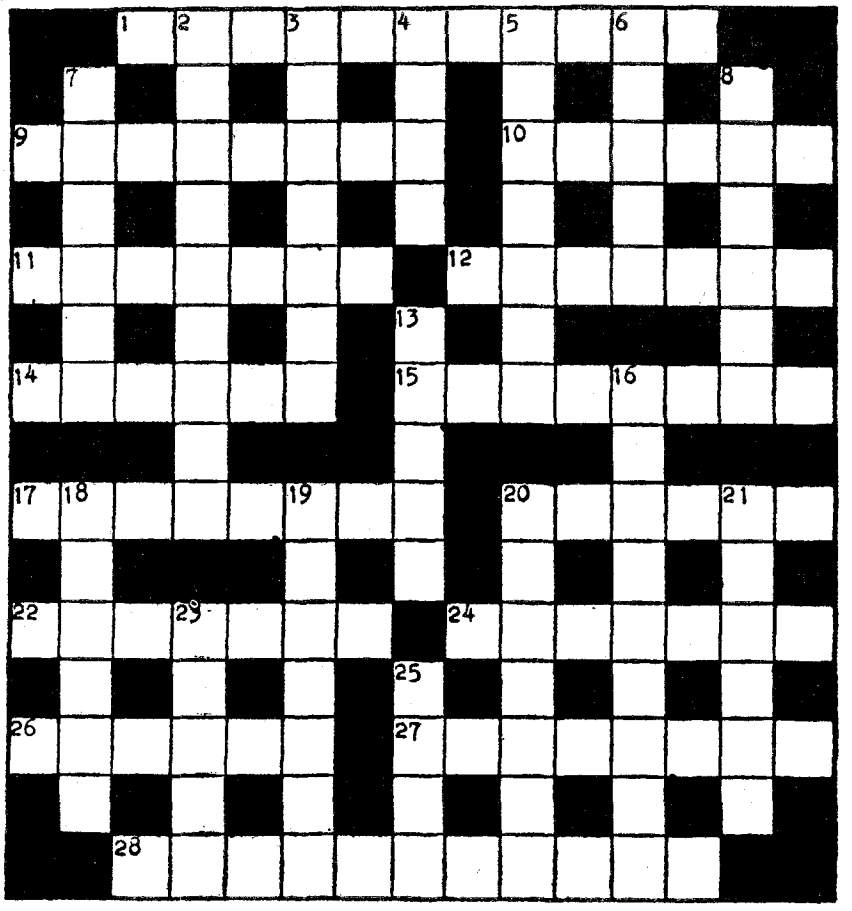

ACROSS

1 Is a gal's cap a suitable creation for the dance? (11)
9 Set back, and look back inside, if not too busy! (8)
10 See 26 across
11 He has a diary made up in fun, according to country folk. (7)
12 Goes on the other side of faults, perhaps. (7)
14 It's not common to be so correct. (6)
15 and 22 across Rather vague concerning the name of the document? (8,2,5)
17 Game played from scratch? (8)
20 You might find me in the type of instigation involving the warm water treatment. (6)
22 See 15 across
24 Although critical, they sound as though they have a burning commitment, or at least would be subject to impressions.
26 and 10 across Absolute description of those insensitive to social justice? (4,2,6)
27 On condition that it's furnished? (8)
28 State Assembly? It's more vulgar than that! (4,7)

DOWN

2 It might make Cora happy, but one can't prove who originated the idea. (9)
3 A British poet, appreciated as being big in entertainment circles. (7)
4 The elder one of the 24. (4)
5 Drag up all the points but one, with more than one plot. (7)
6 A corner of the growing leaf. (5)
7 Prejudiced in favor of brunettes? (6)
8 Stationary. (6)
13 Stake limits? (Looks like one is afraid!) (5)
16 Pardon! (9)
18 It might have valuable content, with 100 present. (6)
19 Bawls out an American artist? (7)
20 Send up a trial balloon, as one not included in the circle might. (4,3)
21 Tends to be just what the doctor ordered, perhaps. (6)
23 Is the country able to put one and one together? (5)
25 A comment in addition to the point the church might have. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1296

ACROSS: 1 Civil servants; 10 One-step; 11 Gallery; 12 Batteries; 13 Erase; 14 Enroll; 16 Dehisces; 19 Seaboard; 20 and 24 Star chamber; 22 Apple; 23 White wall; 25 Heigh-ho; 26 Tremble; 27 Storm troopers. DOWN: 2 Inert; 3 In the altogether; 4 Septic; 5 Register; 6 Asleep in the Deep; 7 Toe-dancer; 8 Cobblers; 9 Tyre; 15 Reappoint; 17 Schiller; 18 Drawn-out; 21 Bistro; 22 Ashy.


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